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The Conquest of England.

THE
onquest of ngland,

FROM WACE'S POEM OF THE
ROMAN DE ROU.



NOW FIRST TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH RHYME
BY SIR ALEXANDER MALET, BART., B.A.,
HER BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER
PLENIPOTENTIARY TO THE GERMANIC
CONFEDERATION.

WITH THE FRANCO-NORMAN TEXT AFTER PLUQUET, AND THE NOTES OF
AUGUSTE LE PREVOST, EDGAR TAYLOR, F.S.A., AND OTHERS.
ILLUSTRATED BY PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE TAPESTRY OF BAYEUX,
EXECUTED BY HERR ALBERT OF MUNICH.



LONDON:
BELL AND DALDY, 186, FLEET STREET.

1860.



TO HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY

THE QUEEN.

MADAM,



TRANSLATION of a record of the exploits which feated William Duke of Normandy on the English Throne, could be inscribed to no one so appropriately as to Your Majesty, Who descending from The Conqueror and from The Plantagenets, Reign in the Island Kingdom, which, eight centuries since, tempted the ambition of an Invader.

The permission so graciously accorded, to dedicate to Your Majesty, this attempt to render in English Rhyme, Wace's Poetical Chronicle of the Conquest, is a favour, which while it leaves much room for apprehension of the offering being deemed unworthy of the Altar on which it is laid, penetrates with so much the deeper gratitude,

one of Your Majesty's

most devoted and faithful

Subjects and Servants,

THE TRANSLATOR.

Introduction.



WACE, Vace, Vaife, Gace, Gaiffe, or Eustace, the Author of the following Poem, to whom, it appears, though on uncertain authority, the name of Robert has been given, was born in the Isle of Jerfey at the beginning of the twelfth century, and died in England, A. D. 1184.

He calls himself Master Wace, was in clerical Orders, and, at the close of his life, held a Canonry of the Cathedral of Bayeux, which was bestowed on him by King Henry II. as a reward (an inadequate one, as Wace appears to have thought) for his literary labours.

Wace was a voluminous writer;¹ but the work which has the greatest interest for the English reader is that in which he relates the history of the Conquest of England, by William Duke of Normandy. It is the object of the Translator to lay before the British Public, in a more popular form than has as yet been done, so much of this Poem, entitled *Le Roman de Rou* (Rollo,) as specially refers to the Conquest.

The Translator commences with the illness of Edward the Confessor, a scene from whose life forms the first compartment of the Bayeux Tapestry.

Wace appears to have finished this Poem in 1160, nearly a century after the events which he recounts; but he affirms that he had conversed with Men² who saw the Comet of 1066, the year of

¹ The *Roman de Rou* alone contains nearly 18,000 lines.

² Vide page 55 of the Poem.

William's expedition ; and records his distinct recollection of the account given by his Father of the number of vessels which failed from St. Valeri :—

“ Quer jo oi dire à mon Père,
Bien m'en sovint mez varlet ere ;”

his tradition, therefore, was only from father to son.

M. Frederic Pluquet,³ the learned and judicious Editor of the *Roman de Rou*, bears honourable testimony to Wace's veracity, and says, “ Wace is persuaded of the truth of all that he writes, and if he “ deceives his readers, does it with the best possible good faith.”

Wace himself says,—

“ Jo ne dis mie fable, jo no ne voil fabler ;”

and the constant recurrence in his Poem of such expressions as “ I cannot myself say,” “ I do not know,” “ I cannot affirm,” “ I was not present that day,” &c. are so many pledges of the truthful nature of his narrative.

With reference to that part of the Poem which is offered in the present form to the public, and which begins at line 10,687, and ends with line 14,465 of M. Pluquet's Edition, this gentleman says,—
“ But that which gives it the highest degree of interest, amongst all “ our old Chroniclers, is the *scrupulous fidelity* with which Wace traces “ the minutest particulars, which brought on, signalised, and followed “ the expedition of William the Conqueror ; one of the greatest political “ and military events of the middle ages.”

Great part of Wace's work is a poetical amplification of the “ *Gesta Guillelmi Ducis Normannorum*,” of William of Poitiers, who was chaplain to the Conqueror, and whose work is universally admitted to be one of the most authentic records of the time.

Neither the poetical form adopted by Wace, or the designation of

³ Le Roman de Rou, publié pour la première fois, &c. par Frédéric Pluquet, Membre de la Société des Antiquaires de France, et plusieurs autres Sociétés savantes ; Rouen, Edouard Frère, Editeur, 1827.

Roman, given to his work, can be fairly held in any degree to invalidate the claims of this production to be looked upon as a true account of the events which it records. Wace wrote at the period when the desire for more accessible sources of information, than those afforded by the Monkish Chroniclers, began to be felt, but while the habit of listening to the Troubadour was still prevalent.

His work is then to be considered as a remarkable monument ;—marking as it does a period of *literary transition* ;—produced by a Clerk or Churchman, but in the vulgar tongue, and, in reality, a tribute or concession to the growing spirit of inquiry of his age.

Wace's details of the actual events of the Battle of Hastings, (with the exception of the number of combatants on the English side, which he seems to have overrated,) are singularly confirmed by the Saxon Chroniclers Ranulph Higden, William of Malmesbury, and the unknown continuer of the venerable Bede ; and thus, though he has written in a poetical form, his work may be fairly admitted to be invested with the dignity of history.

As might be expected from a writer of Norman birth, he shows a bias in favour of his countrymen ; but this leaning does not betray him into any glaring unfairness towards their opponents ; and it will be remarked, that he puts into Harold's mouth the best possible plea for the non-observance of his oath to William, and which is of a nature to absolve him, as some would judge, from all obligation.

As regards the literary value of Wace's Poem, competent judges have pronounced that it is not deficient in delicacy of feeling, or elegance of expression ; but the obsolete language in which it is written enables few to form an opinion of either quality. Wace's descriptive powers are far above the average of other writers of his epoch ; and his pages contain many points of great interest, in reference to the received notions of the moral and religious culture, of the age in which he wrote. He indulges in no lofty poetical flights, but occasionally introduces well turned philosophical or religious reflections ; and his composition eminently possesses the quality which the French term *naïveté*, which is by no means without its charm.

Wace's roll of the Norman Chiefs present at Hastings will be one of the most interesting portions of the Poem to many English readers. It contains a few errors, which are pointed out in the notes; but the general accuracy of this nominative list, as far as it extends, (and Wace himself allows that he has made many omissions,) is well supported by collateral authorities; amongst others, by our own Domesday Book, and by the lists published in that rare and valuable work, entitled "*Historiæ Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui*,"⁴ and other reliable authorities.

As regards the illustrations, conjectures have been hazarded that Wace must have seen the Bayeux Tapestry, before writing his Poem; and that the portion of it here translated is in fact an illustration of that remarkable relic. This supposition is strengthened by the fact of his having held an ecclesiastical dignity in the Chapter of the Bayeux Cathedral. The converse opinion, that the Tapestry was made from the descriptions contained in the Poem, has also had its supporters.

The balance of evidence, however, is in favour of the prior existence of the Tapestry, and that "this noble and exquisite relic of antiquity," as Mr. Edgar Taylor denominates it, was really the work either of Matilda of Flanders, the Conqueror's Queen, or else was made by direction of Odo Bishop of Bayeux, his half brother.

At any rate, no more appropriate illustration could be found for this rhymed Chronicle, than a work of Art so intimately connected with it, that uncertainty has arisen whether it was made from the Poem, or the Poem composed from the pictorial representations of the Tapestry.

Those who feel interest in the subject would do well to consult the Appendix to Duncan's Dukes of Normandy.⁵

It would be difficult to find any subject, in the range of our

⁴ Hist. Normann. Scriptores Antiqui, ab Anno Christi DCCCXXXVIII. ad annum MCCXX. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, A. D. MDCXIX.

⁵ Harvey and Darton, London, 1839.

national history, more intensely dramatic, than the events which form the subject of the selected portion of Wace's Poem.

There is considerable art in the way in which no secondary interest is permitted long to divert attention from the two great central impersonations, William, and Harold.

Though Gurth is made of some importance on the English side, and William has his Seneschal and Barons, who play somewhat the part of the chorus in the Greek Tragedy ;—from the moment in which the apparently involuntary oath is taken by Harold, till the inevitable *Nemesis* of his glorious but painful death, with that of the flower of his nobility and people,—the interest is powerfully sustained.

Then comes a pause,—and all the subsequent events of William's reign of twenty-one years, are hurriedly passed over, to bring us to the catastrophe attending the last illness of the Conqueror, and the strangely impressive and tragic circumstances of his death and interment.

The Translator must not omit stating his great obligations to M. Frederic Pluquet's Edition of Wace's work above referred to, as well as to his worthy collaborators, Messrs. Langlois, Henault, and Le Prevost ; especially to the invaluable genealogical notes of the latter gentleman, of the information contained in which he has largely availed himself.

He is also greatly indebted to the English prose translation of part of Wace's Poem, by the late Mr. Edgar Taylor, F. S. A.⁶

Mr. Taylor had opportunities, which the Translator has not enjoyed, of consulting MS. copies of Wace ; but he also principally availed himself of M. Pluquet's work.

Both authors give ample references to the authorities they consulted, and their indications have enabled the Translator to verify the greater portion of them, by having access to the valuable stores of the Frankfurt Public Library, which possesses an extensive collection of early historical works. A few extracts from them are added in the

⁶ Pickering, London, 1837.

shape of notes, by the Translator, where they illustrate or confirm remarkable points of Wace's narrative.

M. Pluquet's glossarial notes render the Norman-French text intelligible to any one familiar with the French language; still the Translator does not hesitate to avow his obligations to Mr. Taylor's version, and bears willing testimony to the fidelity of that gentleman's interpretation of his original. Few passages will be found to vary in sense from Mr. Taylor's rendering; and where this is the case, the variation has not been adopted without good authority.

The Translator must now refer to his own deficiencies.—Mr. Taylor, in his introduction, expresses a strong opinion against the practicability of any other than a prose translation. His words are as follow:—"It was considered to be an idle attempt to pretend to represent such a work in modern English verse. In so doing, the fidelity of the narrative must have been more or less sacrificed, especially if Rhyme had been attempted; and *without Rhyme* there could hardly have been much resemblance."

In this paragraph the writer hopes that an apology may be found, for many of the shortcomings of his own attempt at a metrical version.

An ardent desire to be as literal as possible, has guided him throughout; and to that object Poetry is necessarily sacrificed. He is perfectly aware that a poet would have made a more graceful version; but in default of the work having been taken up by any one better qualified than himself, he has done his best to submit to the public a production which may be found to possess an interest from its intrinsic merits.

The Translator has moreover to beg especial allowance for liberties taken in the use of various metres. This deviation from the received practice has not been unintentional; but he has no other plea, than that they have been employed by him as the action of the Poem seemed to require, or admit, and with the notion that such an innovation might not be more inadmissible, than the *Andante*, the *Allegro*, or other changes of measure in a piece of music.

Always minded to translate as literally as possible, care has been

taken to use the simplest words, as best rendering the metrical Norman-French employed by Wace. If the verification is found too homely to suit the refinement of poetry, the Translator can only trust that criticism will be modified by the sincerity of his endeavour to give a true rendering of his original.

P. S.—The Translator has great satisfaction in acknowledging the obligations he owes to Mrs. Edgar Taylor, and the executors of the late E. Taylor, Esq., for their liberality in permitting him to use Mr. Taylor's notes so largely as he has done.

Having been able to verify nearly every reference made by Mr. Taylor, and not finding one note that was superfluous, or that could well be dispensed with, it is a pleasing duty to bear testimony to the value of such deep research, and such critical accuracy as Mr. Taylor's notes exhibit; those only who have been engaged in similar labours, can properly estimate the worth of such guidance; it is like following a vigorous leader through a snow-wreath.

A. M.

Frankfort,

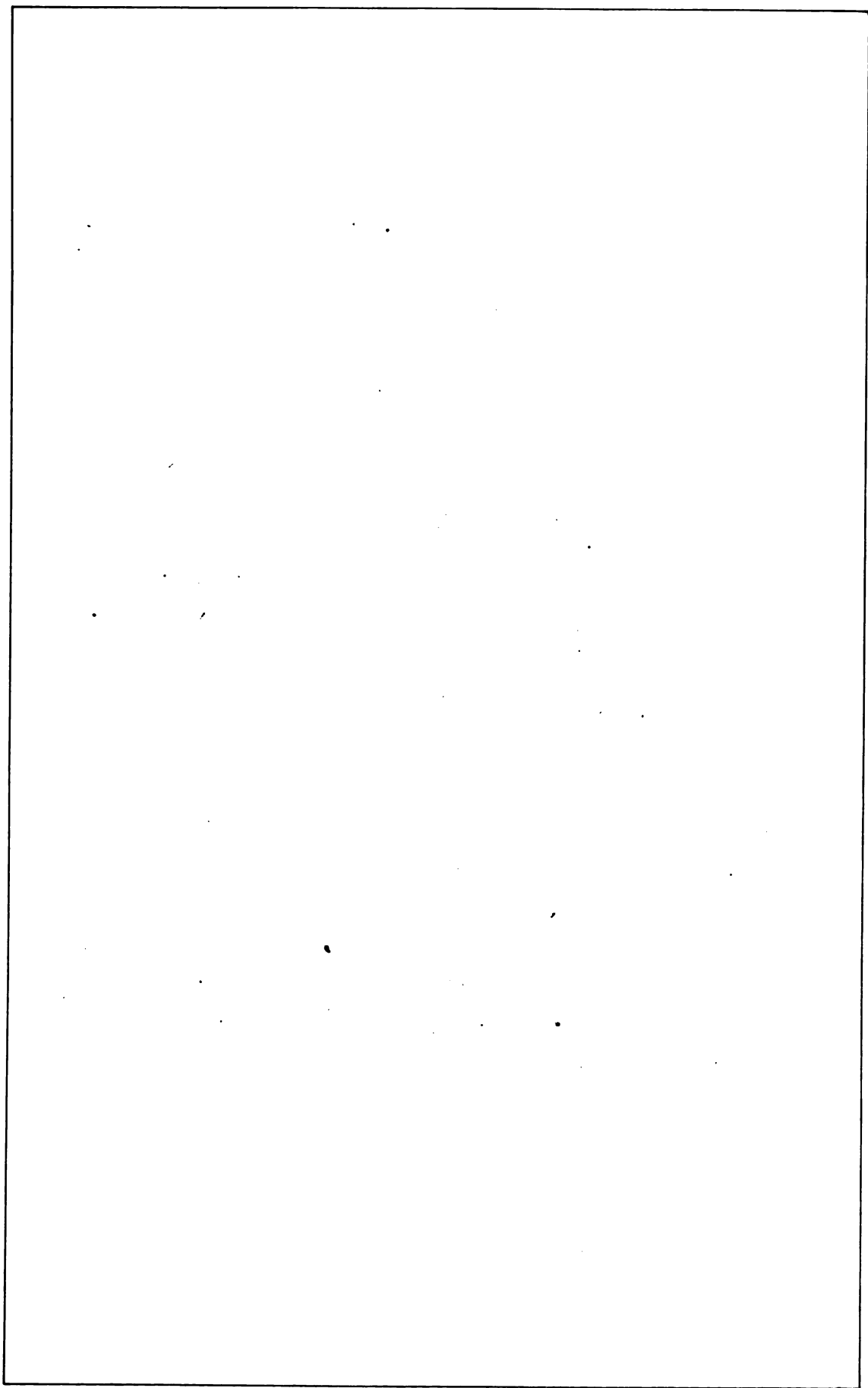
August 31, 1860.

N. B.—The initials A. L. P. indicate notes by Monsieur le Prevost, those with A. M. by the translator:—all other notes are those of Edgar Taylor, with the exception of the citations from the monkish and other Chronicles, which have their proper references appended or prefixed.

ERRATA.

- Page x. note 3, *for* Férderic *read* Frédéric.
Page 25, fide-note, *for* Robert *read* William.
Page 29, line 15, *for* Sea *read* Lea.
Page 52, note m, *for* ferair *read* ferait.
Page 54, line 11, *for* affeler *read* appeler.
Page 145, note 5, *for* cuneti *read* cun&ti.
Page 227, note 20, *for* fauciatus *read* fauciatos.
Page 233, fide-note, *for* tris *read* tres.
Page 247, note 4, *for* absolutorium, *read* absolutarium.
Page 255, line 6, *for* ere *read* e'er.
Page 268, note 4, *for* pratis *read* pretio.
Page 273, lines 14 and 15, *for* Catalogues *read* Catalogus.

2.9



Roman de Rou, (tc.

PAR FREDERIC PLUQUET.

V. 10,687, &c.

B

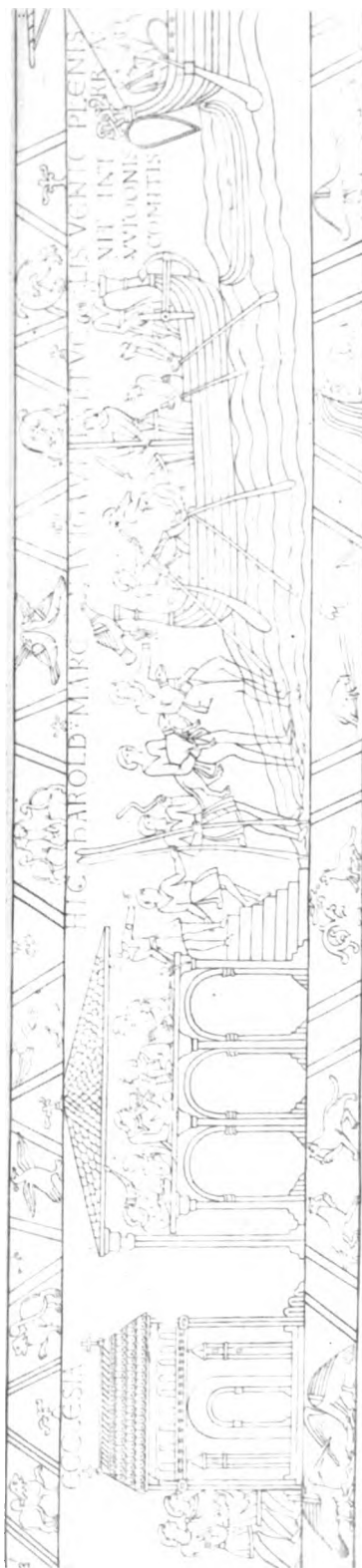
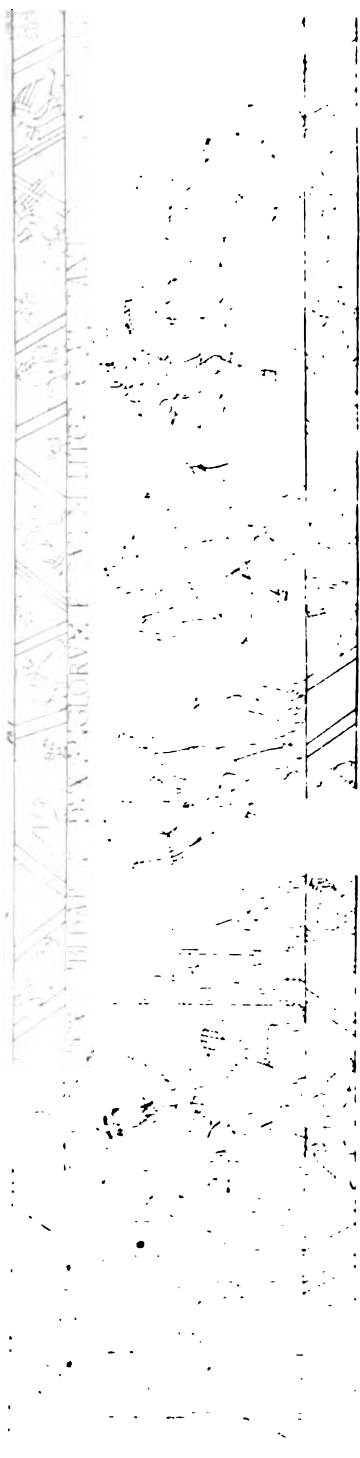
Le Roman de Rou.

Edouard 'désire
léguer son roy-
aume à son pa-
rent le duc Guil-
laume.



I Reis Ewart out bien vesku,
E fun regne out lunges tenu ;
Ne n'out, ço li poisa,^a enfant,
Ne nul proçain appartenant,

Ki emprez li fun regne éust,
Ne ki maintenir le péust.
Porpenfa fei, quant il morreit,
Ki de fun regne éritereit ;
Porpenfa fei è dist sovent,
K'al Duc Willame fun parent,
Ki est li mielx de fun lignage,
Voldreit duner fun éritage.
Robert sis pere le norri,
Et Willealme l'out mult servi.
Tut li bien k'il a recéu,
A il par cel lignage^b éu ;
Ki ke il féist bel semblant,
Il ne amout nul home tant.
Por l'enor del boen parenté
Od ki il out norri esté,
E por la valor de Willealme
Le volt fere eir de son réalme.^c
En la terre out un fenescal,
Heraut out nom, noble vassal ;



The Conquest of England.

FOR many a Year on King Edward's brow
Had rested the Crown of England, but now
Aged and childless He saw, and with pain
No Heir of His blood, in His Realm to reign.

Edward Confessor began to reign
1041. — Scene
opens probably
A. D. 1064.

Oft dwelt His mind on the Rule and the State
He must leave like a waif, when call'd by fate,
And oft as He cast His thoughts around,
Duke William best of His Kin He found.
Duke Robert—His Father—guided His youth,
William He lov'd, and had oft prov'd His truth.
All that was good in His Life, He could trace
As owing to none but men of that race.
On others at times, His favor might fall,
But William the Norman, was better than all.
Friend of his youth, and worthy the gain,
His be the glory o'er England to reign.

Now Edward had made Him a Seneschal,¹
A mighty Vassal, and brave withal :

^a Ce qui l'affligea.

^b Cette famille.

^c Héritier de son royaume.

¹ Seneschal, " lieutenant du duc pour l'administration civile ;" " ce mot, dérivé de la langue Franke, signifie proprement serviteur gardien des troupeaux ou gardien de la famille, *senes-skalch*. C'était un office de la maison des rois franks, et, par suite de la conquête, une dignité politique de la Gaule."—THIERRY, I. 270.

Détails sur Harold, fils de Godwin.

Harold passe en Normandie pour réclamer les otages livrés par Godwin.

Por fun pris è por fa bunté
 Out el regne grant poesté,
 Li plus fort hom fu del país.
 Fort fu d'homes, fort fu d'amis,
 Engleterre out en fa baillie^d
 Com home ki a seneschaucie.^e
 De par fun pere fu Engleiz
 Et de par fa mere Daneiz.
 Gite fa mere fu Daneise
 Née è norrie en grant richeise ;
 Mult gentile dame estre dut,
 Suer^f fu fa mere el Rei Kenut,
 Mere Heraut, feme Goigne,
 E fa fille Edif fu Roigne.
 Heraut fu ben^g de son seignor,
 Ki à feme aveit fa seror.
 Quant sis pere fu desviez,^h
 Ki del morsel fu estranglez,
 En Normandie volt passer
 Por les ostages délivrer
 Dont il aveit mult grant pitié.
 Del Rei Ewart a pris congié,
 Et Ewart bien li desvéiaⁱ
 E defendi è conjura
 K'en Normandie ne passast
 Ne al Duc Willame ne parlast ;
 Toft i porreit estre engigniez,
 Kar li Dus ert mult vesiez :^k
 S'il voleit avoir sez ostages,
 Si envéiaft altres messages.

^d En fa garde, en son gouvernement.

^e Sénéchauffée.

^f Sœur.

^g Favorsi.

^h Eut perdu la vie.

ⁱ Lui défendit.

^k Avisé, clairvoyant.

^l Alias Githe or Githa.

^m Ead-githa of the Saxon chronicle, who married in 1043, and died in 1075.

Strong in adherents, and stout of hand,
 Seneschal-like he rul'd the land.
 Harold his name, and in each thing
 Bearing himself as next to The King.
 While in his veins commingling flow'd
 The stream of Danish, and English blood.
 Githa² His Mother, princely Dame,
 Of The Royal Stock of Denmark came.
 High born, and nurtur'd by the side
 Of Canute Her Brother, She was Bride
 Of Godwin; Harold was their Son,
 Edith³ their Daughter. When she won
 Her Queenly seat on Edward's Throne,
 Her Brother in Royal favour shone.

Edward's Prede-
 cessor Hardica-
 nute.

When on Earl Godwin had clos'd the Tomb,⁴
 (Who was chok'd at a feast, and so met his doom)
 Harold was minded to cross the Sea
 And visit the Court of Normandy.
 His heart was fore for the kindred Band,
 Whom William as hostages held in His Land:
 And trusting their freedom to obtain,
 He fought King Edward's leave to gain.
 But deeming that scheme not overwise,
 Edward forbade his bold emprise.
 Warn'd him of William's craft to beware,
 His plan might lead him into a snare;
 'Twere wiser messengers to send,
 And the best means to gain his end.

His own brother
 Wilnoth, and
 Cousin Haco,
 given as hostages
 for Godwin's
 good conduct to
 K. Edward, and
 sent to Duke
 William for safe
 custody. V.
 Wace, ante.

⁴ Radulf de Diceto relates the death of Earl Godwin while dining with Edward the Confessor as follows:—

"Godwinus focer suus recumbens juxta eum dixit: 'Sæpe tibi Rex falso delatum est, me prodicioni tuæ invigilasse, sed si Deus cœli verax et justus est, hoc panis frustulum concedat, ne michi guttur pertranseat, si unquam te perdere vel cogitaverim.'

"Deus autem verax et justus audivit vocem proditoris, et mox eodem pane strangulatus, mortem prægustavit æternam." He places this event A. D. 1054.

Iffi l'ai jo trové escrit,
 Et un altre livre me dist
 Ke li Reis li rova¹ aler
 Por li réalme afféurer
 Al Duc Willame fun cofin,
 Ke il l'éust emprez sa fin ;
 Ne fai mie ceste achoison,^m
 Mais l'un è l'autre escrit trovon.
 Kelke bufuigne k'il quérift,
 E ki ke fuen fere volüst,ⁿ
 Heraut à la veie se mist,
 Coment ke puiz li avenist.^o
 Adventure ki estre deit,
 Ne pot remaindre k'il ne feit,^p
 E chose ki deit avenir
 Ne pot por nul rien faillir.
 Heraut fist dui nez atoner,^q
 A Bodeham entra en mer.
 Ne vos fai dire en ki pecha,
 U en icel ki governa,
 U en l'ore ki trop verfa,^r
 Maiz jo fai bien k'il méfala ;^s
 Tres k'en Pontif l'estut figler ;^t

La mer le jette
 sur les côtes du
 Ponthieu.

¹ Lui ordonna.

^m Cette circonstance.

ⁿ Quelque chose qu'il voulût faire.

^o Quoi qu'il pût lui en arriver par la fuite.

^p On ne peut empêcher ce qui doit arriver.

^q Fit préparer deux navires.

^r Ou un vent qui trop tourna.

^s Qu'il alla mal.

^t Jusqu'en Ponthieu il lui fallut cingler.

⁵ Benoit de Sainte-More sends the archbishop of Canterbury to William, at Edward's desire, to convey his intention of leaving to the duke the inheritance of the English crown.

L'arcevesque de Cantorbire,
 Li plus hanz hom de son empire,
 Out en Normendie tramis,
 Les anz avant, si cum je vos dis,

So faith one Tale :⁵ but others fay,
 That Edward bade him take his way,
 T'affure the Duke, that England's Throne
 Was his, when Edward was dead and gone.
 Where lies the truth 'tis hard to fee ;
 I write as the tales were told to me.

Whatever quest he meant t'essay,
 Harold fet forth upon his way.
 None may pretend the fates to bind,
 Or mould their fortunes to their mind.

Two Veffels launch'd from Bodeham's Bay⁶
 Bore Harold on his vent'rous way ;
 But as it chanc'd, the Veffels fail'd
 To reach the Port for which they fail'd.
 Whether by Pilot's maladdress,
 Or change of wind or Tempest's strefs,
 I know not ;—but they fetch'd the Strand
 Of Ponthieu, and were forc'd to Land

Por afermer ce qu'il li done,
 Tot le reame e la corone.

And Harold's mission is described as being expressly intended, in the following year, to confirm the same bequest :—

Por estre plus certains e meres,
 E qu'il n'i forfist encombrier,
 Resout l'ovre plus esforcier.
 Heraut, qui quens ert del pais,
 Trestot li plus poestéis
 Que nul des autres del reiaume,
 Ce lui tramist al duc Guillaume,
 Que del regne enterinement
 Tot qui a la corone apent
 Li feist feuté jurée,
 Eissi cum ele ert devisée :
 Veut qu'il l'en face serrement
 Et qu'il l'en donge tenement . . .

⁶ Bosham, near Chichester ; a manor which *Domesday* shows to have belonged to Harold's father Godwin. See Ellis, *Domesday*, i. 310.

Il est reconnu
par un pêcheur,
et livré au comte
Guy.

Ne pout arière retorner,
N'il ne se pout iloc celer.^u
Un des peschéors de la terre,
Ki out esté en Engleterre,
E Heraut out sovent véu
L'a encercié^v è conéu
Al viaire et à la raison.^w
El Cunte de Pontif Guion
Ala dire privéement,^x
Ne volt fere altre parlement,
Ke il li fera mult gaaingner,
Se il le volt acumpaingner ;
Doint li^y vint livres solement,
Il l'en fera gaaingner cent,
Kar tel prison^z li liverra,
Ki cent livres u plus donra.^a
Li Quens l'en a asséuré
K'il en fera fa volenté,
E cil li a Heraut monstre,
Ki le gaaing a desiré ;
A Abeville l'ont mené.
E Heraut a par un privé
En Normendie el Duc mandé
Tut iffi cum il a esfé,^b
Ke d'Engleterre à li alout,
Maiz à dreit port venir ne pout ;
A li dut aler en messaige,
Maiz il failli del dreit passaige.
Li Quens de Pontif l'aveit pris,
E sanz forfet en prison mis ;

^u Cacher.

^v Epié.

^w Au visage et à la parole.

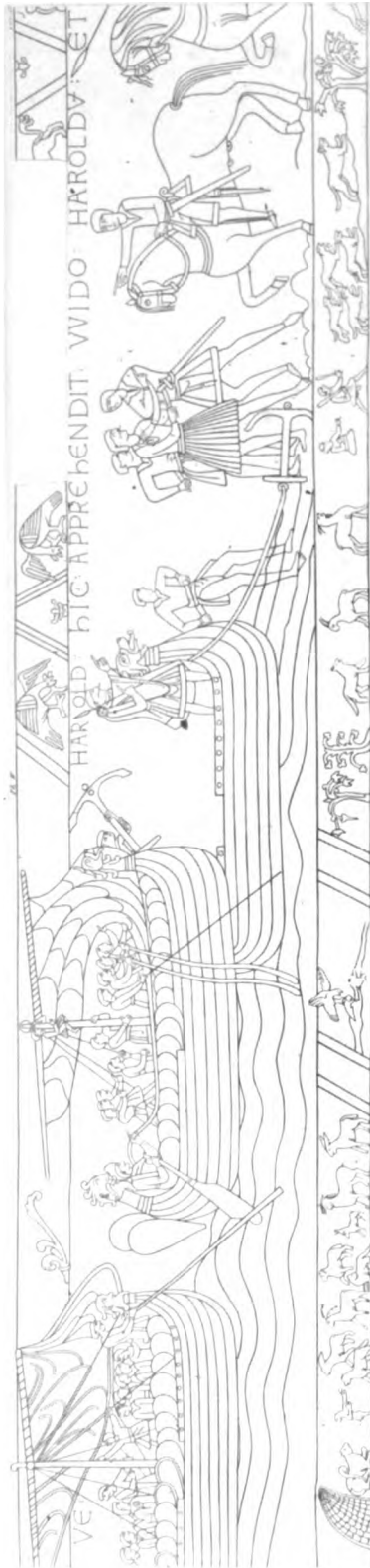
^x En particulier.

^y Qu'il lui donne.

^z Car il lui livrera tel prisonnier.

^a Lui donnera.

^b Il a voyagé.



Whence nor could they put back to Sea,
Or hide themselves from an Enemy.

A Fisher spied them by chance on the shore,
Who Harold in England had seen before ;
Who knew his voice and who knew his gait,
And he hied him to Guy⁷ of Ponthieu straight.
Privily then to the Count he taught,
What a prize the Sea to his Coast had brought.
For twenty Livres, he promis'd to shew
This prize to the Count, worth a hundred or mo :
For if such a Captive the Count had in hold
He'd purchase his ransom with heaps of gold.

The Count to the Fisherman listen'd well-pleas'd,
And under his guidance, Lord Harold was seiz'd ;
Thence to Abbeville taken, but while on the road,
His mishap to Duke William he privily⁸ shew'd.

How the voyage he plann'd for Normandy,
Had ended in Ponthieu, by strefs of the Sea :
A Mission he bore—to Duke William he came,
And right of free passage could openly claim.
Wrongfully then, and with no plea at all
Had Guy of Ponthieu put him in thrall.

⁷ Guy succeeded his brother Enguerran, William's brother-in-law, who was killed before Arques. Guy, after being captured at Mortemer, was, according to *Ordericus Vitalis*, p. 658, kept prisoner at Bayeux, and was ultimately released on homage and fealty to the duke. Benoit states positively that a storm carried Harold to Ponthieu :—

— trop lor fu la mer sauvage :
Kar granz tempers e fort orage
Ne les i laissa ariver :
Ainceis les covint devaler
Dreit en Pontif. La pristrent port,
Eissi ateinte eissi mort ;
Mieux voufissent estre en sezile.

⁸ Constrictus ergo Haroldus quemlibet ex vulgo, mercede illicitum clam ad Comitem Normanniæ dirigit, exponere quid illi contigerit.—SIM. DUN. p. 196. apud Twysden.

Le duc Guil-
laume le ré-
clame, et il lui
est remis.

Bonne réception
faite à Harold
par Guillaume.

Harold promet
de lui livrer
l'Angleterre à la
mort d'Edouard.

Delivraft li s'il le poeit,
Et il fereit kank'il voldreit^c
Gui garda Heraut à grant cure;^d
Mult en créuft méfaventure ;
A Belrem le fist envéier
Por fere del Duc esluingnier.
Li Dus penfa s'il le teneit,
K'il en fereit bien son espleit.
Tant pramist el Cunte et offri,
Tant manacha è tant blandi,^e
Que Gui Heraut al Duc rendi
E de Heraut li Dus seisi.
E li Dus li a fet avoir
Lez l'ewe d'Alne^f un bel maneir.
Willealme tint Heraut maint jor
Si cum il dut à grant énor.
A maint rice torneiement
Le fit aler mult noblement ;
Chevals et armes li duna
Et en Bretaingne le mena,
Ne fai de veir treiz feiz u quatre,
Quant as Bretuns se dut combatre.
Entretant^g a li Dus parlé
Tant ke Heraut li a graé,^h

^c Tout ce qu'il voudrait.

^e Flatta

^g Pendant ce temps.

⁹ Beaurain on the Canche, arrondissement of Hesdin.

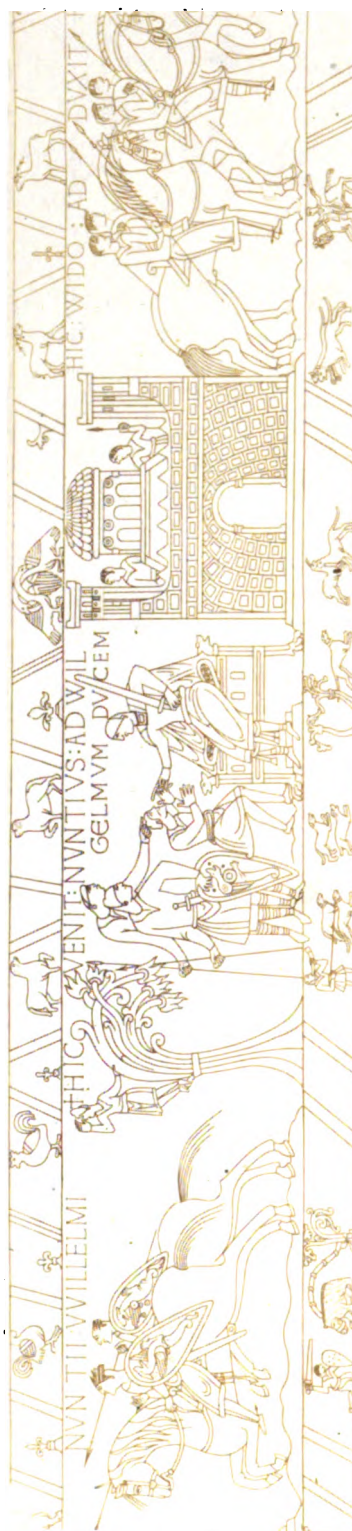
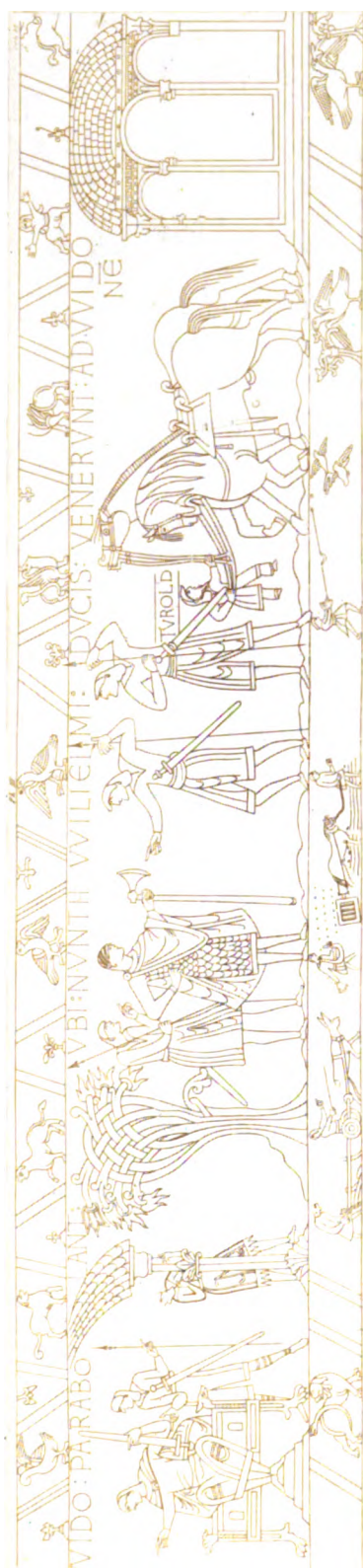
¹ According to *William of Poitiers*, Guy himself conducted his prisoner to William at Eu. Benoit ascribes the surrender to William's threats and military preparations, for which purpose

. manda li dux ses genz
Sempres, a milliers e a cenz ;
Vers Ou chevaucha irascuz
Dunt Heraut ne li ert renduz.

^d Soigneusement.

^f Le long de la rivière d'Eaulne.

^h Lui a accordé, lui a promis.



If William the Duke, would get him fet free,
He'd do what he wish'd, whate'er it might be.

Meanwhile Count Guy who was well on his guard,
Kept Harold confin'd in close watch and ward.
And mew'd him in Belrem's⁹ walls, as they
Were farther from the Duke away.

Had I Harold in thrall, thought the Duke in his heart,
He should do my behest ere I'd let him depart.
So he spake the Count fairly, who being well pleas'd
Forthwith from his Prison Lord Harold releas'd.¹
Yet free was he not, to the Duke handed o'er
And captive, as still in another man's pow'r.
But the Duke's thanks to Guy were bounteously shewn
By a Lordship in fief on the banks of the Aulne.²

Long time with the Duke, Harold took up his rest,
All honor, as due, the Duke shew'd to his Guest.
With arms and rich vestments He kept him supply'd
And mounted and arm'd him at Tourneys to ride.
Then when on the Bretons the Normans made war
He took Harold with him the peril to share.³
So deftly meanwhile had the Duke ply'd His tongue
That a promise from Harold He fairly had wrung :

² The Eaulne.

³ " Tales togeder thei told, ilk on a good palfray." *Robert Brunne's Chronicle*, quoted in *Thierry*, i. 250. Benoit de Sainte-More says of this part of the story,

Od que li Dux out jostées,
Mult granz e mult defmesurées :
Por aller effilier Bretons,
Vers lui torcenos e felons
Qui n'el deignoient sopleier,
Le mena od sei osteier ;
Là fist de lui si grant cherté
C'unc tant n'out de sa volonté,
Ne fu nul leu mais tant joiz
Qu'il cil affaires fu feniz.

Ruse employée
par Guillaume
pour rendre cette
promesse invio-
lable.

Ke Engleterre li liverra
Tres ke li Reis Ewart morra ;
Et à moillierⁱ s'il velt prendra
Ele^k une fille ke il a :
Co se li plaist li jurera,
Et Willame le graanta.^l
Por rechoivre cest serement,
Fist assembler un parlement
A Baieues, ço solent dire,
Fist assembler un grant concire ;
Toz li corz sainz fist demander,
Et en un liu^m tuz afempler ;
Tut une cuve en fist emplir,
Pois d'un paeleⁿ les fist covrir,
Ke Heraut ne sout ne ne vit,
Ne ne li fust mostre ne dit.
De fuz out une filature,^o
Tut li meillor k'il pout eslire,
E li plus chier k'il pout trover :
Oil de boef^p l'ai oï nomer.
Quant Heraut fuz sa main tendi,
La main trembla, la char frémi ;
Poiz a juré et a prami
Si come home ki eschari :^q
Ele, la fille al Duc prendra,
Et Engleterre al Duc rendra ;

ⁱ A femme.

^k Adèle.

^l Y consentit.

^m En un lieu.

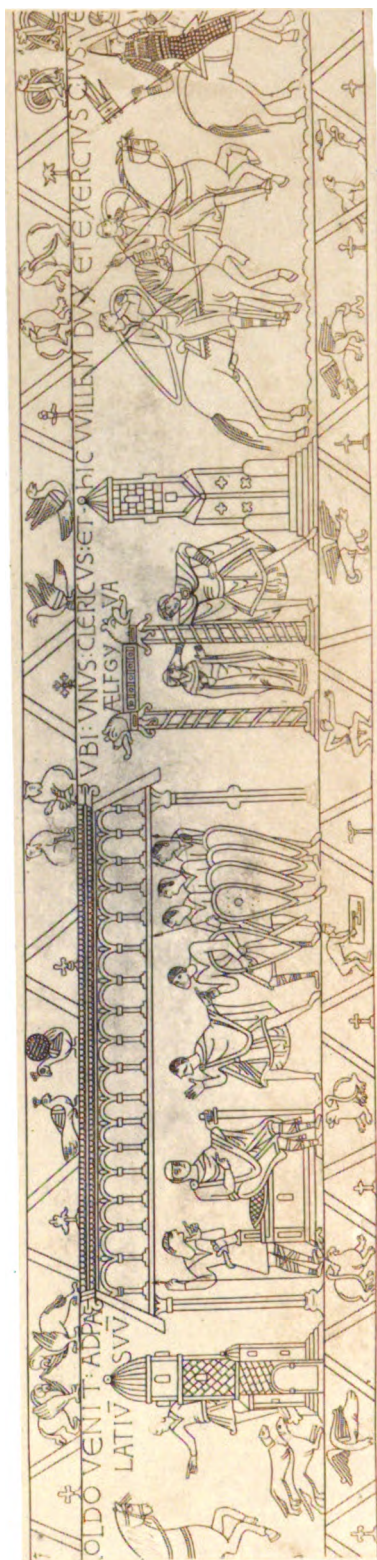
ⁿ Un poisse ou paisle ; de pallium, drap d'or ou de soie.

^o Reliquaire ; phylacterium.

^p A cause de sa forme.

^q Qui affirme.

^l Adela. According to *Ordericus Vitalis* it was Agatha, another daughter. He adds a pathetic story as to her falling in love with Harold, and dying of grief at her disappointment, and at an attempt made to consign her to a new match with the king of Galicia. The story of her attachment to Harold is rather inconsistent with the date of 1053, usually assigned to William's marriage ; as his daughter would not be more than eleven years old at Harold's visit. According to Benoit de Sainte-More, it was part of the agreement that



When Edward the King, stern Fate should o'erwhelm,
 He'd himself help the Duke to succeed to the Realm.
 To Adèle⁴ the Duke's Daughter he'd next pledge his troth
 And his faith—if so wish'd— would confirm by an Oath.

Duke William assented, and turn'd in his mind
 How the oath Harold's conscience most firmly might bind.
 At Baieux,⁵ so is said, He determin'd to call,
 His nobles together,—moreover bade all
 Holy bodies of Saints,—where'er they were laid,
 To be gather'd, and for them a Chest to be made.
 On the Chest was a Pall, which serv'd for a Lid,
 So that Harold knew nought of the relics it hid.
 And none gave him warning, or once let him know
 That the Bones of those holy men rested below.
 Over all, as to honor such relics was due,
 The Duke spread a tissue of marvellous hue,
 Œil de Bœuf⁶ it was call'd, and in fineness and cost
 It all else surpass'd, and was valu'd the most.

When Harold in form of the Oath he should take,
 Stretch'd his arm o'er the Chest, his hand 'gan to shake,
 He felt his flesh creep—but he spake out and swore
 He would marry Adèle, and the kingdom give o'er;⁷

Harold should not only have "Aeliz la proz e la sage," but with her "del regne une moitie." Nothing is said by him of any contrivance as to the relics on which the oath was administered.

⁵ *Ordericus Vitalis* fixes the scene at Rouen, and *William of Poitiers* at Bonneville-sur-Touques. The latter places the event before the expedition to Brittany; which, except on Wace's authority, is not known to have occurred more than once.

⁶ Either from its figure or the ornaments upon it.

⁷ Simeon of Durham states that Harold had three sons, Godwin, Edmond, and Magnus, and one daughter, Gilla.

Benoit de Sainte-More is therefore evidently in error, when he makes Harold's invasion of Wales and the death of Grifrid take place *after* his return from Normandy. Radulf de Diceto places the visit to Normandy, A. D. 1063. It is true that Saxo Grammaticus only speaks of *two sons* and a daughter of Harold, but it would appear either that William was ignorant of Harold's marriage with Alditha—or meant that she should be put aside, in favour of his own daughter. See the Note on Saxo Grammaticus in the Appendix.

De ço li fera son poeir,^r
 Sulunc fa force è son faveir
 Emprès la mort Ewart, s'il vit ;
 Si veirement Dex li aït,^s
 E li corz fainz ki iloc font !
 Plufors dient : Ke Dex li dont !^t
 Quant Heraut out li Sainz beïfiez,
 Et il fu fuz levez en piez,
 Verz la cuve li Dus le trait,^u
 E lez la cuve ester^v le fait :
 De la cuve a le paesle osté,
 Ki tut aveit acoveté ;^w
 A Heraut a dedenz monstre
 Sor kels cors fainz il a juré.
 Heraut forment s'espoanta
 Des relikes k'il li monstra.
 Quant son erre out apareillié^x
 Al Duc Willame a pris cungié,
 E Willame l'a convéié,^y
 E de bien faire assez préié,
 Poiz l'a el departir beïfié
 Par nom de fei è d'amistié.
 Heraut passa delivrement,
 En Engleterre vint salvement.
 Li jor vint ki ne pout faillir,
 Ke nus hoem ne pout treffaillir,^z
 Ke chescun deit par mort finir ;
 Li Reis Ewart estut^a morir.

Retour d'Harold
en Angleterre.

Derniers mo-
mens d'Edouard.

^r Son pouvoir.

^t Lui donne, lui octroie.

^v Refter.

^x Quand il eut fait les préparatifs de son départ.

^z Eviter.

^a "Ke Dex li dont !" It is unnecessary to observe how variously these events have been

^s Dieu lui aide.

^u L'attire, le mène.

^w Caché.

^y Invité.

^a Convint, fallut.



Thitherward his whole wit and pow'r should tend,
 Unless before Edward's, his own life should end :
 " So might God, and the relics therein, be his aid !"
 " God grant it so be,"⁸—many bystanders said.
 Then kneeling, and still with his hand on the Chest
 In reverent guise he his lips to it press'd.

As he rose to his feet, the Duke took his hand,
 And fast by the Chest bade him still keep his stand ;
 The Pall he uprais'd, and made Harold aware,
 How solemn an Oath on such Relics he swore.
 And he, when he saw what was hid by the Veil,
 And what he had sworn upon, felt his heart quail.⁹

After this, on his voyage he bound him to start
 And took leave of the Duke who would let him depart.
 Yet much he besought him, and pray'd him take heed
 How he kept to his promise, in word, and in deed.

At last when they parted, the Duke as in ruth
 Kissed Harold, in token of friendship and truth.

Thus freely did Harold go forth on his way
 And reach'd England's shores without let or stay.

The day dawn'd at length which to all men must come
 When Edward of England should yield to His doom.

told. In the words of *William of Malmbury*, " Lectorem premonitum velim, quod hic quasi ancipitem viam narrationis video, quia veritas factorum pendet in dubio." The accounts of Thierry, Sir Francis Palgrave, and Depping, may be referred to as those of the latest writers. In Wace we are following the story of a Norman, as told at a Norman court : but on the whole there is little in his history that is at variance with probability, or with the best evidence on the subject. It will be observed that he does not go the full length of some of the Norman historians, in pretending that the English nation gave any formal assent to Edward's views as to the disposition of his kingdom in favour of his kinsman William.

⁹ Sensit Haroldus periculum undique nec intellexit quâ evaderet, nisi in omnibus voluntati Wilhelmi acquiescerit.—SIM. DUN. p. 196. apud Twyden.

On extorque son
consentement à
ce qu'Harold lui
succède.

Mult li fust bel se il péust,
Ke Guillealme fun regne éust,
Maiz trop est luing è trop demore,
Ne il ne pot aloigner l'ore.^b
Ewart en enferté^c géseit
Del mal dunt il morir debveit,
Mult esteit de mort agéhiz,^d
E mult jà esteit asébliz.
Heraut asembla sis parenz,
Amiz manda et altres genz,
En la chambre li Reis entra,
Cels ke li plout od li mena.
Un Engleiz a avant parlé,
Si com Herout out comandé.
Sire, dist-il, grant duil avon
De ço ke vos perdre devon ;
De ço somes espoenté,
Mult en creimon estre efgaré.
Ne poon ta vie aloignier,
Ne ta mort por altre eschangier ;
Chescun por sei morir estuet,^e
Hom por altre morir ne poet ;
Ne te poon de mort garir,
Ne tu ne poz à mort faillir ;
A terre deit terre venir.
Nos ne remaint^f emprez ta mort
De tei nul eir ki nos cunfort :
Vielz hoem es jà, pose as vescu,
E si n'as nul enfant éu ;
Filz u fille ne nul altre eir,
Ki por tei poisse remaneir,

^b L'heure.

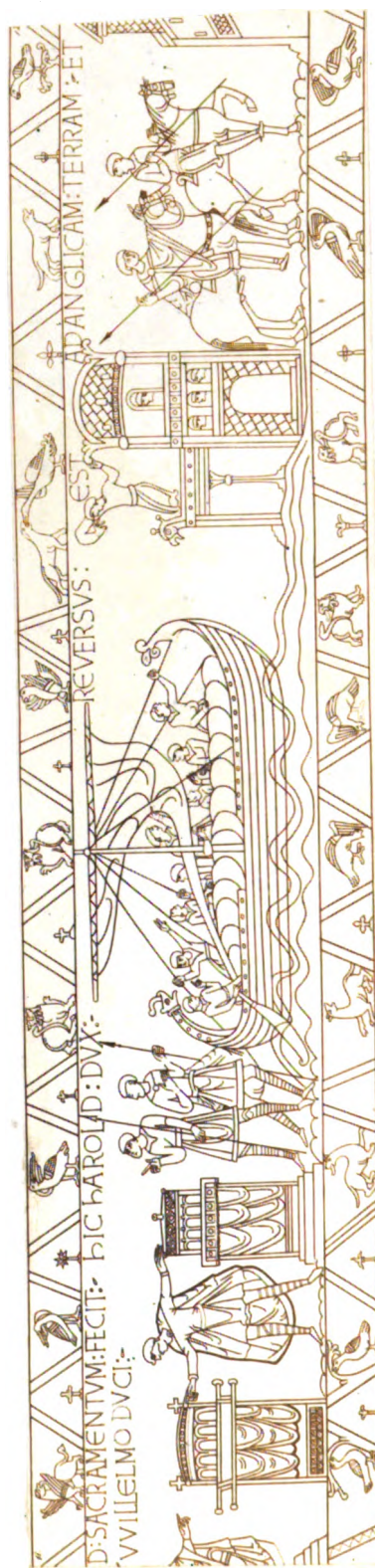
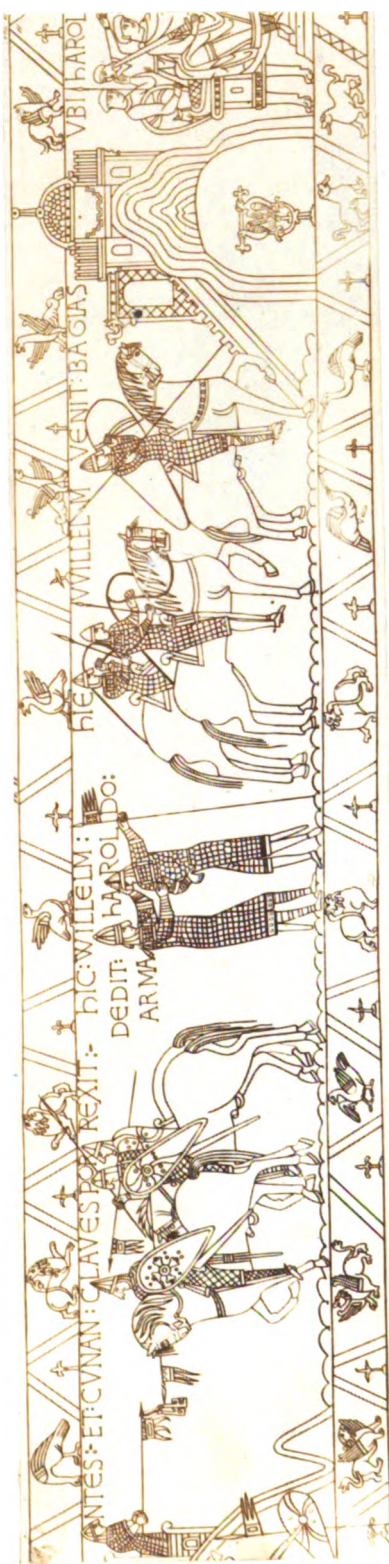
^c En infirmité.

^d Pressé.

^e Il faut mourir chacun pour soi.

^f Il ne nous reste après ta mort.

¹ According to the quotation in *Thierry*, i. 236, Edward's last moments were disturbed



Long time had He wish'd, when His own life should end,
 That to Normandy's Duke His Crown should descend ;
 But time was fast fleeting, the Duke far away,
 The ebb of His Life nothing human could stay.
 Enfeebld and struggling with mortal disease,
 On His Couch, He awaited his final release.¹
 Now Harold on watch for whate'er might betide,
 Had summon'd his kinsfolk and friends to his side :
 To the King's sick Chamber, he made his way,
 Intruding therein with a long array ;
 And there, as they gather'd around the King's Bed,
 An Englishman, prompted by Harold, said,
 " Sire, with the bitterest grief we perceive
 " Our King is about this Life to leave.
 " Fear and dismay our hearts o'erwhelm,
 " At perils impending over the Realm.
 " Our lives for Thine, would we readily give,
 " But not e'en that would make Thee live.
 " Each for himself his mortal breath
 " Owes to the Lord of life and death.
 " No art or skill of Leech can save
 " Our King from going to His Grave,
 " For Earth must take the Earth she gave.
 " Moreover none lives of Thy own royal Race,
 " To console us, or take Thy Kingdom and Place ;
 " A reign full of honor—a life of full years,
 " Have been Thine to enjoy—but Thou leavest no Heirs.
 " No Prince, or Princess from Thy Body descend,
 " Thy Throne to inherit, Thy People defend,

by melancholy forebodings. " Behold," he cried, " the Lord hath bent his bow ; the Lord hath brandished his sword, and made ready ; by fire and sword will he chasten !" Benoit merely says, " Glorieuſe fin out e ſainte !" The reader may usefully compare the narrative here, with the illustrative quotations from the old chroniclers, which are to be found in *Thierry*.

D

Ki nos gart è ki nos maintienge,
 E par lignage Rei devienge.
 Par cest paiz plorent è crient,
 Se tu lor fauz,^g morz sunt, ço dient,
 Jamez ne kudent paiz aveir,
 E jo kuide ke il dient veir,^h
 Kar jà sanz Rei paiz n'averon,
 Ne Rei n'aron se par tei non.ⁱ
 Dune tun regne à tun vivant
 A tel ki face paiz en avant.
 Jà Dex n'otrei, n'à li ne place,
 Ke Reis ait ki paiz ne nos face!^k
 Malveiz est regne è petit vaut,
 Dez ke justife è paiz i faut.^l
 N'a dreit el regne ke il ait,^m
 Ki paiz è justife ne fait.
 Bien es, bien as fet, bien feras,
 Deus as servi è Deus auras.
 Ci est li mielx de tes païs,
 Tut li mielx de tes amis ;
 Trestuit te sunt venu préier,
 E tu lor deiz bien otréir.
 Ço poise nos ke jà t'en vas,
 Se por ço non ke Deus auras.
 Ci tuit te viegnent huiⁿ requerre
 Ke Heraut feit Rei de la terre ;
 Ne te favom mielx cunseillier,
 Ne tu ne poz mielx espleitier.^o
 Dez ke cil out Heraut nommé,
 Par la chambre ont Engleiz crié

^g Si tu leur manques.^h Vrai.ⁱ A moins que par toi.^k Que jamais Dieu ne permette que nous ayons un roi qui ne nous maintienne pas en paix.^l Un royaume est mauvais et de peu de valeur lorsque la paix et la justice y manquent.

" Or to keep and to guard this Kingdom of Thine,
 " By right of descent from Thy Regal Line.
 " Just cause hath the Nation Thy loss to deplore
 " And deem they die with Thee, when Thou art no more.
 " 'Tis a masterless Land when Thy hand drops the helm ;
 " So I deem reason speaks in this cry of the Realm ;
 " A State is no State with no King on its Throne,
 " And no King have we, unless Thou makest one.
 " Ere death overtake Thee, name that man to reign
 " Best able the Peace of the Land to maintain.
 " God forbid any other that station should fill,
 " Than a Guardian of Peace—both in pow'r and in will.
 " Ill esteem'd shall the Land be, and low in the Scale,
 " Where Peace is not nurtur'd, where Justice can fail,
 " And Princes Who both do not strictly preserve,
 " The rule over Nations in no wise deserve.
 " Good wert Thou, and art, and good hast deserv'd,
 " And God will reward Thee, The God Thou hast serv'd.
 " We who in Thy presence, before Thee here stand,
 " Are all Thy best friends, and the best of the Land ;
 " By us all, with one voice, one pray'r is preferr'd
 " And well will it be, if the grace is conferr'd.
 " We mourn Thee,—but deeper our Hearts will be riv'n
 " Leav'st Thou that undone, which will shut Thee from Heav'n.
 " Here gather'd before Thee this day, we demand,
 " That Harold be chosen as King of the Land.
 " Better counsel than this have we none to afford,
 " Nor canst Thou better do, than give ear to our word."
 As the lips of the Speaker pronounc'd Harold's name,
 'Twas greeted by all with a shout of acclaim :

^m Celui qui ne procure point la paix et ne rend point justice n'a aucun droit au royaume qu'il possède.

ⁿ Aujourd'hui.

^o Faire.

Ke bien parlout è bien difeit,
 E li Reis creire le debveit :
 Sire, dient-il, se tu nel' faiz,
 Jà en noz vies n'aron paiz.
 Donc s'est li Reis el liet assis,
 Verz les Engleiz turna fun vis :^p
 Seignors, dist-il, afez favez,
 E maintes feiz si avez
 Ke mon regne ai emprez ma vie
 Duné al Duc de Normendie,
 E ço ke jo li ai duné
 Li unt alquanz^q de vos juré.
 Donc dist Heraut, ki fu en piez :^r
 Ki ke vos, fire, fet aiez,
 Otréiez mei ke jo Rei feie,
 E ke vostre terre feit meie ;^s
 Jo ne quier ne maiz vostre dreit,
 Jà mar^t plus por mei en fereit.
 Heraut, dist li Reis, tu l'auras,
 Mais jo fai bien ke tu morras ;
 Si jo unkes li Dus conui
 E li Barunz ki funt od lui,
 Et la grant gent k'il pot mander,
 Nient ne t'en pot forz Deus garder.^u
 Donc dist Heraut, ke bien fereit,
 Dist li Reis ço ke il voldreit,
 Il fereit ço ke à fere aveit ;
 Normant ne altre ne creimeit.^v
 Dunc se turna li Reis, si dist,
 Ne fai se par boen cuer le fist :
 Ore facent Engleis Duc u Rei,
 Heraut u altre, jo l'otrei.^w

^p Son visage.^q Aucuns.^r Qui était debout.

Sage words and well spoken, they each of them thought,
The King must needs listen to that which they fought :

“ For Sire,” said they all, “ if so be Thou abstain,
“ There ne’er will be Peace in the Kingdom again.”

Thereupon the sick King sat Him up in His Bed,
And turning his face to those Englishmen said,
“ Seignors, full well, and long time have ye known
“ That Normandy’s Duke should be Heir to this Throne,
“ When my own Life should end, and this my intent,
“ The oath of one present hath sanction’d, as meant.”

Then Harold stood forward, and said, “ What was done,
“ By Thee in fore time, Sire, regard as foregone.
“ God forbid I e’er crave other guerdon as mine,
“ Save to rule by Thy grant, o’er the Land that is Thine.”

Then answer’d The King, “ Harold, so shall it be,
“ But Death’s in the gift as I well can foresee !
“ If Normandy’s Duke in aught I have known,
“ And the warlike Barons who circle His Throne,
“ ’Gainst them, and the Force they can bring to the Field,
“ Nowhere but in God,—canst thou e’er find a shield.”
“ Let mine be the hazard,”—straight Harold reply’d,
“ For if with his pray’r King Edward comply’d,
“ And on him would His sov’reign grace but bestow
“ The Norman he feared not or other Foe.”

Then out spake The King,—yet know I not, I,
If He spake the words spontaneously,—
“ Our Royal right using,— We grant and give,
“ To our People, the high prerogative,
“ And right, to choose freely, whom they will,
“ The Duke or Harold Our Throne to fill.”

^s Mienne.

^t A Dieu ne plaîse que l’on n’en fasse davantage pour moi.

^u Garder, excepté Dieu.

^v Ne craignait.

^w Je le permets.

Mort et enter-
ment d'Edouard.

Couronnement
d'Harold.

Guillaume ap-
prend ce qui se
passe en Angle-
terre.

Iffi a fet Heraut fun eir
Quant Willame ne pout avoir.
Rei à regne avoir estuet,^x
Regne sanz Rei estre ne puet.
A fez Barunz a graanté^y
K'il en facent lor volenté.
Li Reis morut, ne pout remaindre;^z
Mult en orent Engleiz à plaindre.
Li corz ki mult fu énorez,
A Westmostier est enterrez;
Mult fu riche sa sepulture
Ki faite fu et encore dure.
Dez ke li Reis Ewart fu morz,
Heraut ki ert manant è forz^a
Se fist énoindre^b è coroner;
Unkes al Duc n'en volt parler,
Homages prift è féeltez
Des plus riches è des ainz nez.

En Roem ert li Dus el Parc,
Entre ses mainz teneit un arc,
Encordé l'aveit è tendu
Et entésé è desentu.^c

^x Il faut un roi à un royaume.

^y A accordé.

^z Demeurer.

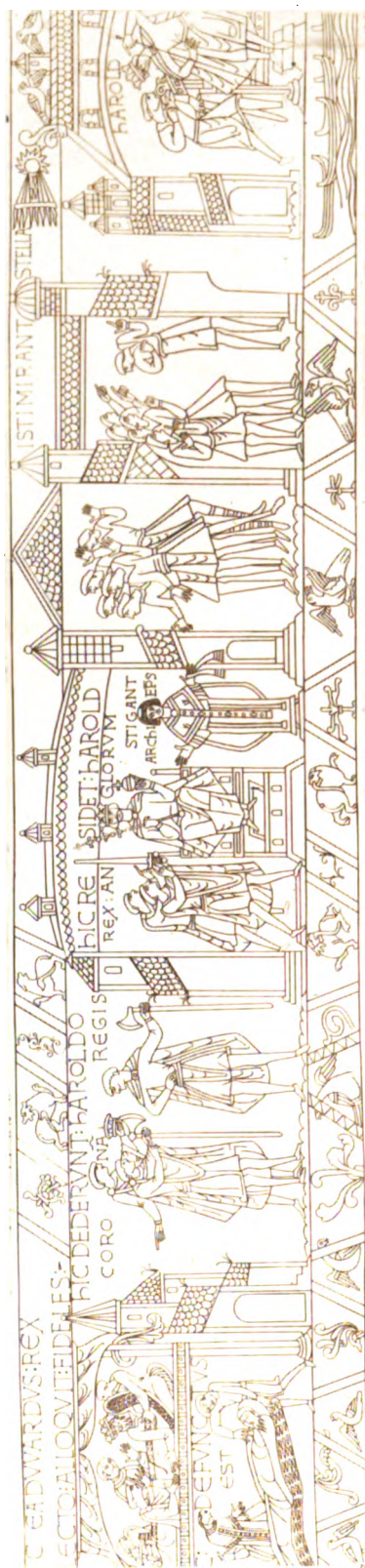
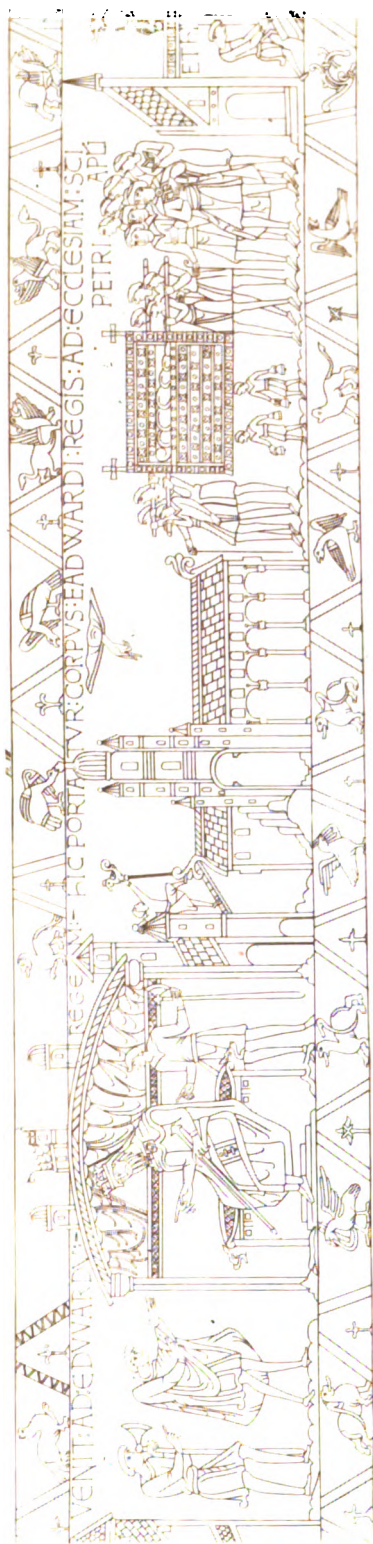
^a Riche et puissant.

^b Oindre.

^c Et bandé et armé.

^z Benoit de Sainte-More's account is somewhat different. He in particular denies that Harold was anointed at all, or had any title but his own usurpation.

Heraut de coveitise espris,
Senz autre conseil qui'n fust pris,
Saissi le reigne demaneis;
Parjurez e faus se fist reis,
Eissi, senz icele unction,
E senz cele sacration,
Qu'en deit faire à rei saintement
Le jor de son coronement.



Thus Harold became The King Edward's Heir
 Perchance by default of the Duke's being there.
 Of King on its Throne every Realm hath need,
 Without one, it is not a Kingdom indeed.
 So granting His Barons to do as they would,
 They us'd The King's licence as seemed them good.

The King's life was ended—He could not remain,
 All England with mourning was fill'd, and with pain.
 For His Corpse, to which ev'ry honour was paid,
 In Westminster Abbey a grand Tomb was made.
 There in state, with vast pomp, The King's Body lay,
 And the Monument o'er it exists to this day.
 No sooner were Edward's days ended, by fate,
 Than Harold whose riches and power were great,
 Tho' cautious from William to keep it unknown,
 As King of the Land, took His seat on the Throne.
 And homage and fealty to Him, were sworn,
 By the best of the Realm, and by all the high born.²

With a Bow in his hand, in his Park at Roem,³
 Now flacking the cord,—now drawing it home,

Rouen.

In this part of his chronicle he relates an expedition by Harold against 'li Galeis' and 'reis Griffins, qui d'eus ert fire.'

————— Heraut l'ocist,
 Sa femme Aldit saisi e prift,
 Qui fille ert del bon conte Algar.

But there must be an error as to the period of Harold's marriage, for he had at least three children by Alditha. The English writers say that Griffrid was killed by his own People, and his Head brought to Harold. *Vide* William Gemmeticensis, Brompton, &c.

³ The park of Quevilly. Henry II. built a palace there, which eventually became the priory of St. Julien; the chapel of which still subsists. An extensive forest adjoined.

Cette nouvelle
le rend pensif et
soureux.

A un varlet l'out fet livrer,
Aler voleit, co crei, berfer,^d
Mult aveit od li Chevaliers
E dameifels et esquiers.
Eis voz al postiz un Serjant,
Ki d'Engleterre vint errant,
Al Duc vint dreit, cil salua ;
A une part li cunseilla^e
Ke li Reis Ewart ert finez,^f
E Heraut ert à Rei levez.
Quant li Dus ot bien escolté,
E tute sout la vérité
Ke à sa fin ert Ewart trait,
E ke Haralt esteit Reis fait,
Semblant fist d'home corocié.
L'ovre del boiz a tut leffié,
Sovant a fun mantel lacié,
Et sovent l'a destachié ;
Ne il à home ne parla,
Ne home à il parler n'osa.
A un batel Saine passa,
A sa fale vint, enz entra ;
Al chief d'un banc s'est acotez,^g
D'ores en altre^h s'est tornez,
De fun mantel covri fun vis,
Sor un pécoli fun chief a mis ;
Iffi pensa li Dus grant pose,
Ke l'en parler à li n'en ose.
Plufors demanderent en derriere :
Ke a li Dus, ke fet tel chiere ?^k
Eis vus à tant^l li feneschal,
Ki del Parc veneit à cheval,

^d Chasser.

^e Lui parla en particulier, lui dit tout bas.

^f Etait mort.

Stood William the Duke, who a hunting would go,
 And he call'd to a Varlet, and gave him the Bow.
 There were Knights and Esquires, who stood by his side,
 And gentle Youths,⁴ ready to run or to ride;
 When a Serjeant came to a Postern Gate
 From England arriv'd, on the Duke to wait.

So he bow'd him low, and the Duke lent ear
 To the weighty news he was now to hear.
 Thus he learnt that Edward of England was dead,
 And Harold was crown'd as King in His stead.

With mien of intense concern, each word,
 Of the tale that was told, Duke William heard.
 Much mov'd he seem'd, and he set aside
 The Chase to which he had meant to ride.
 Silent and stern, he strode along,
 His fingers clutching his Mantle's thong.
 To none he spake,—and none to him
 Durst utter a word—he look'd so grim.
 Then a Boat He took, and pass'd the Seine,
 And came to his Hall, and enter'd in.
 Upon a Bench he laid him low,
 And there kept tossing to and fro.
 His Mantle over his face he drew,
 His head against a pillar threw.
 Long wrapt in thought he dwelt, and none
 Durst ask him what he thought upon.
 But many were they who ask'd aside,
 What chance had happen'd or might betide.

There as he lay, in mood so dark,
 Came his Seneschal⁵ riding from the Park;

Robert Fitz Os-
 ber, of Breteuil.

⁸ Au bout d'un banc s'est appuyé.

^h D'heure en autre, de temps en temps.

ⁱ Support, appui.

^k Telle mine.

^l Voilà, dans ce moment.

⁴ 'Damoisels,' young men of gentle birth, not yet knights.

⁵ WILLIAM FITZ OSBERN, Lord of Breteuil (de Bretolio), in the arrondissement of

Conseils qui lui
sont donnés par
Guillaume de
Breteuil, son fé-
néchal.

De lez li Dus^m passa avant,
Par la fale ala chantufant ;ⁿ
E plusors li vunt demandant
Por kei li Dus fet tel semblant.
Et il lor dist : noveles orreiz^o
Maiz d'oir mar^p vos hastereiz,
Kar novele tel costume a
Ki ne l'out nove, viez l'ara.
Dunc leva li Dus en féiant,^q
E li feneschal dist itant :^r
Sire, fire, por kei celez
Li noveles ke vos savez ?
Se la novele ne l'oon,^s
Pot cel estre viez la sauron ;
Jà el celer^t prou n'en aureiz,
Ne el dire rien ne perdreiz.
De ço fetes grant chierté,
Ke tuit sevent par la cité.^u
Par cele cité vunt difant,
Tuit le sevent petit è grant,
Ke li Reis Ewart est finez
E de cest fiecle trespassez,
E Heraut est Reis devenuz,
Et el réalme recéuz.

Evreux. He was, by his father, the grandson of Herfast, brother of the duchess Gunnor ; and, by his mother, grandson of Ralf, count of Ivry. Both father and son held the office of feneschal, these household offices being among the Normans held by the persons of highest birth and eminence. Wace says of the household of Richard II :

Gentil furent li capelain,
Gentil furent li escrivain,
Gentil furent li cunestable,
E bien poessanz e bien aidable ;
Gentil furent li fenescal,
Gentil furent li marescal,
Gentil furent li buteillier,

Clofe by the Duke he pafs'd along,
 And humming as he went a fong.
 Many came round him, and fought to know,
 What news fo clouded their Seignor's brow?
 Said the Senefchal—"There be news indeed,
 " Yet tarry awhile, if ye lift my rede,
 " For news that oozes not forth in its prime,
 " Will dawn on your fenfes all in good time."
 The Duke meanwhile, on the bench where he lay,
 Sat up, and the Senefchal 'gan to fay,
 " Sire, for what caufe is the news conceal'd,
 " But now to thy private ear reveal'd?
 " That which at prefent to few is known,
 " To-morrow becomes the talk of the Town.
 " Where is the gain of keeping it clofe?
 " Or if fpread abroad, what is there to lofe?
 " All that within your bofom you hide,
 " Through Rouen is bruited far and wide.
 " That Edward is dead—Harold King of His State,
 " Is everywhere known to fmall and great."

Gentil furent li déspenfier ;
 Li chamberlenc e li uiffier
 Furent tuit noble chevalier.

William became earl of Hereford, and was killed in 1070. *Ordericus Vitalis*, 536, exclaims, ' Ubi est Guillelmus Osborni filius, Herfordensis comes, et regis vicarius, Normanniæ dapifer, et magister militum bellicosus? Hic nimirum primus et maximus oppressor Anglorum fuit, et enormem causam per temeritatem suam enutrivit, per quam multis millibus ruina miseræ mortis incubuit.' His family were soon involved in rebellion, and disappeared in England. The Osbornus episcopus—of Exeter—in *Domesday*, was his brother. See Ellis's *Introduction to Domesday*, i. 460-511.

^m Près du duc.

^o Entendrez.

^q Sur son séant.

^r Ne l'entendons.

^u Vous faites grand secret de ce que tout le monde fait dans la cité.

ⁿ Fredonnant, chantant légèrement.

^p Mal à propos.

^r Alors.

^t Profit.

Ço peise mei, dist li Dus,
 Maiz n'en pois mie fere plus.
 D'Ewart me peise è de fa mort,
 E de Heraut ki m'a fet tort :
 Tort me fet ki li regne a pris,
 Ki m'esteit duné è pramis,
 E Heralt le m'aveit juré.
 A cels paroles respondi
 Li filz Osher el cuer hardi :
 Sire, dist-il, ne vos targiez,
 Delivrement vos porcachiez,^v
 Ke de Heralt féiez vengiez,
 Ki fi s'est verz vos desloiez ;^w
 Se boen corage ne vos faut,^x
 Ne remaindra terre à Heraut.
 Mandez kanke^y mander poez,
 Passez mer, terre lor tollez :
 Prufdhoem ne deit nient comencier,
 Ne esmover por delaiffier,
 U comencier et à chief traire,^z
 U tut laiffier sanz noife faire.
 Iffi ala par la cuntrée
 Del Roi Heraut la renommée.
 Willame li manda sovent,
 K'il li tenist fun serement,
 E Heraut li manda vilment,^a
 K'il ne fereit por li néient,^b
 Ne il fa fille ne prendreit,
 Ne il terre ne li rendreit.
 Et Willéalme le desfia,^c
 E desfiance li manda ;

Messages entre
 Guillaume et
 Harold.

Défi adressé à
 Harold par Guil-
 laume.

^v Mettez-vous en besogne ; agissez.

^x Ne vous manque.

^y Tout ce que.

^w Délié de son serment.

^z Terminer, mettre à fin.

Him the Duke answer'd, " Thence my grief,
 " But how, or whence, can it find relief?
 " King Edward's death doth grieve me fore,
 " But Harold's wrong affects me more.
 " Wrongfully fits he on the Throne
 " Promis'd and pledg'd to me alone,
 " Honor and oath he hath both foregone."
 Gallant Fitz Osber made answer, " I pray
 " Chafe thoughts like these, Sire, far away.
 " So act that Harold's treach'rous deed
 " In thy just vengeance find its meed.
 " Dare greatly, and that English Land,
 " Shall pass from Harold's grasping hand.
 " Thy forces summon—cross the Sea,
 " And seize on England, Land and Sea.
 " The test of a brave and prudent Man
 " Is carrying through what he began,
 " Or should he deem his schemes must fail,
 " He giveth them up, and doth not bewail."

Ere long, and throughout all the Land, it was known
 How Harold was seated as King on the Throne.
 Duke William reminded Him oft and again,
 That he held Him bound by the Oath he had ta'en.
 But matters grew worse upon Harold's reply,
 For He answer'd the Duke injuriously ;
 Refusing his Daughter to take as His Wife,⁶
 Or to render the Land, the cause of the strife.
 Then basing the challenge upon his good right,
 The Duke defy'd Harold, to meet him in fight,

^a D'une manière vile.

^b Néant, rien.

^c Le provoqua au combat.

⁶ At ille nec illud quidem facere se velle, nec hoc formidare dixit.—SIM. DUN. p. 196.
 apud Twyſden.

Normands chaf-
fés d'Angleterre.

E Heraut toz tems reponeit^d
 Ke nule rien^e mez ne creimeit.
 Normanz ki el païz maneient,^f
 Ki fames et enfanz aveient,
 Ke Ewart i aveit menéz
 E granz chastels è fieus dunez,
 Fift Heraut del païz chacier,
 N'en i volt un foul leffier ;
 Li peres cacha è li meres,
 Filz è filles, serors è freres.
 Heralt prift corone à noel,
 Mielx li venist avoir fait el ;^g
 Ne fift à son eir se mal non,^h
 E a tute la region.
 Por li regne se perjura,
 E li regne poi li dura.
 A tut li regne fift damage,
 Et en tristor mist son lignage :
 Ne volt mie fille el Duc prendre,
 Ne cunvenant tenir ne rendre ;
 Maiz malement le comperraⁱ
 Il è la gent k'il plus ama.^k
 Willame sout è entendi
 As noveles ke il oï
 Ke Heraut rien ne li fereit,
 Ne covenant ne li teindreit :
 Cunseil prift ke mer passereit
 Et à Heraut se combatreit ;
 Se Dam le Deu i cunfenteit,
 Del perjure se vengereit.
 Li Dus Willame a mult pensé
 Ke Heraut l'out en grant vilté,^l

Guillaume se dé-
termine à aller
revendiquer la
couronne d'An-
gleterre.

^d Répondait.

^e Nulle chose.

^f Demeuraient.

But other answer he never got
 From Harold, but that He fear'd him not.
 Not few of the Normans whilst Edward reign'd,
 With Wives and children, had Lands obtain'd,
 And Castles and Fiefs; but them one and all,
 Harold drove forth from the Land, great and small.
 Fathers, and Mothers, and little ones too,
 Brothers and Sisters,—the whole of the Crew.⁷
 'Twas Christmas when Harold was crown'd as King,
 Unwitting what ills on His land He should bring.
 Else had He scap'd from the blot on his name,
 And the ruin that over His Kingdom came.
 For the gain of a Crown,—He was forsworn,
 Soon from His head, that Crown was torn;
 His reign to the realm, with evil fraught,
 Destruction on His lineage brought.
 In that He broke His plighted troth,
 To the Duke's Daughter, and His oath,
 Dread retribution shall it cost,
 Himself, and all He lov'd the most.

Duke William at length became fully aware,
 That Harold was false to the Oath that He sware.
 And much he reflected, and turn'd it well o'er,
 How the Sea he might pass, and attain England's Shore.
 And how,—if The Lord deign'd to favor the right,
 He best might seek vengeance,—and right him, by Fight.
 All the past scanning over,—he thought much and long;
 What affected him most, in this manifold wrong,

^a Avoir fait autre chose.

^b Sinon du mal.

ⁱ Le paiera.

^k Lui et ceux qu'il affectionna le plus.

^l Mépris.

⁷ The *Esfoire de Saint Ædward le rei*, (a MS. in the university library at Cambridge,) makes Harold's tyrannical proceedings a prominent motive for William's expedition.

Il rassemble ses
principaux ba-
rons pour leur
demander leur
assistance.

K'il n'en deingna à li parler,
Ainz^m kil féist coroner.
Ço ke Ewart li out duné,
E ke Heraut li out juré,
Li a tolleit è trespasé,
E li fien serement falsé.
S'il le poeit, ço dist, grever
E damagier sanz mer passer,
Volentiers le damagereit,
Et ainz,ⁿ ço dist, mer passereit,
Ke de Heraut ne se vengast,
E ke son dreit ne porcachast.
Li Dus dist ke mer passera,
E de Heraut se vengera.
Pur cunfeil prendre de ceste ovre,
Ainz^o k'il à altre s'en descovre,
Manda Robert li Conte d'Où,
Ki marchist à cels de Vimou,^p
E Rogier de Mongomeri,
K'il teneit mult por grant ami,
E li fils Osber de Bretuil,
Guillaume out non, plain fu d'orguil,
E Gautier Giffart a mandé,
Ki donc esteit de grant bonté.
L'Eveske Odun manda son frere,
E Robert ki Moretoin ere ;^q
Robert frere li Dus esteit,
Ki en grant chierté le teneit ;
Amdui cil^r esteient fi frere,
Mais ço esteit de par sa mère.
Rogier de Vilers fist mander,
Ki mult esteit à énorer ;

^m Avant.

ⁿ Plutôt.

^o Avant.

Was the silent neglect, which Harold had shewn,
 While busy'd in seating Himself on the Throne.
 No Envoy from Him had been sent to the Duke,
 To explain, or say wherefore, the Sceptre He took;
 But He basely usurp'd it,—this too, tho' He swore,
 Himself would the Kingdom to William make o'er.
 Much he wish'd that he had not to pass the Sea,
 To wreak his revenge on his enemy;
 Yet rather than vengeance 'gainst Harold forego,
 Determin'd to cross, and encounter his Foe.
 Ere then to others his projects he brake
 He call'd certain Lords, their counsell to take.
 Robert the Earl of the County of Ou,
 A Seigneur whose lands march'd with those of Vimou.⁸
 And Roger the Seigneur de Montgomeri
 Whom fast in his friendship he well knew to be.
 William Fitz Osber, Lord of Breteuil,
 Proud of his birth and Princely rule.
 Walter Giffart, the brave and good,
 And Bishop Odo, his brother half blood.
 Robert de Moreton⁹ was also there,
 Another half Brother whom he held dear.
 Both were his Brothers on mother's side,
 And both the Duke fought, for counsel and guide.
 Roger de Vilers,¹ a Counsellor sage,

^p Qui était voisin de ceux du Vimeu.

^q Qui était de Mortain.

^r Ces deux-ci.

⁸ Vimeu.

⁹ As to ROGER DE MONTGOMERI, WALTER GIFFART, ODO, BISHOP OF BAYEUX, and ROBERT, COUNT OF MORTAIN—comes Moritolii—see our subsequent notes on the chiefs at the battle of Hastings.

¹ ROGER DE VIEILLES, not Villers,—nor Veules, as often written, owing to incorrect translation of the latin title, de Vetulis,—son of Humfry of the same name, who is stated to have died at Preaux, 1074. Vieilles is a small commune in the canton of Beaumont, arrondissement of Bernay; where the family appears to have been established before the building the castle, which still bears the name of Roger. Roger is below, and usually, styled

Mult esteit tenu por sage,
 Et jà esteit de grant aage,
 Sez filz aveit jà chevaliers
 Bien nobles homes è bien fiers;
 Sire ert de Belmont-le-Rogier,
 Grant terre aveit à justifier.
 E Iwun^a manda al chapel,
 Ki à fame aveit Muriel,
 Seror li Dus de par sa mere
 E Herluin aveit à pere;
 Ne sai se enfez d'els naski,
 Maiz unkes^t parler n'en oï.
 A cels Barunz dist fun cunfeil
 Ainz k'il féist grant apareil;
 Dit lor a com il pert son dreit,
 Et come Heraut li toleit:
 Se il l'osoent bien loer,
 Por sei vengier passereit mer.
 S'il s'en voleient bien pener
 Od la gent k'il poeit mander,
 E Dex le volfist graanter,^u
 Bien porreit fun dreit recovrer.
 Et il dient ke tuit sunt prest
 D'aler od li se mestier est;^v
 Jà por lor terres engagier,
 Ne por vendre, s'il est mestier,^w

DE BEAUMONT or BELLOMONT. He could not have been very old at the conquest, (if Wace is to be understood as so asserting,) for he lived till thirty years after. His son Robert became earl of Leicester on the grant of Hen. I.; having been adult, and distinguished himself at Hastings, according to *William of Poitiers*. See our subsequent note, and Ellis's *Domesday*, i. 380.

^a Yvon.

^t Jamais.

^u Permettre.

^v Si besoin est.

^w S'il est besoin.

^a Beaumont-le-Roger on the Rille.

^s Historians have not mentioned an uterine sister of William, called Muriel, but Wace's

Much honor'd and far advanc'd in age,
 Was also call'd.—Six Sons had he,
 All Knights, and worthy their Chivalry.
 Of Belmont le Rogier,² he was Chief,
 Administ'ring a mighty Fief.
 He summon'd too Ivon al Chapel,
 Spouse of the Lady Muriel;³
 Whom the Duke's Mother whilome bore,
 To Herluin, but men ignore,
 If e'er of Ivon and that Dame,
 (I never heard it,) offspring came.
 To these then his Barons, ere yet he began
 To make preparations, he open'd his plan.
 Of his rights and how he had lost them he spake,
 Of Harold, and of the Oath that He brake.
 And how by their Aid, if they granted it, he
 Would vengeance prepare, and cross over the Sea.
 With help of The Lord, and his good People's aid,
 Of gaining his rights he was no whit afraid.

The Barons declar'd, with a common accord,
 They were ready to follow their fuzerain Lord.
 Nay more, they would pledge, or dispose of their Lands,
 If such were the help he requir'd at their hands.

account is confirmed from other sources. It would seem to have been to her, then a widow—ad Muriel sanctimonialem—sister of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux—and therefore sister, or more properly half-sister, of Adelidis, that the poet Serlon, the canon of Bayeux, (as to whom see *Wace*, ii. 235, 393) addressed his verses *de captâ Bajocensium civitate*. The baron here called Iwun-al-Chapel seems to be EUDO DE CAPELLO—du manteau, or capuchon—son of Turstain Halduc and Emma his wife, and subscribing himself Eudo Haldub in a charter of 1074. *Mem. Ant. Norm.* viii. 436. He was dapifer to Duke William; although not the Eudo dapifer of *Domesday*, who was son of Hubert de Ric. He was the head of the house of Haie-du-Puits in the Contentin, and undoubtedly married a Muriel, as appears by the charters of Lessay, whether she were a daughter of Herluin or not. The estates of Eudo went to his nephew, which confirms Wace's account of his having no issue. See the Lessay charters in *Dugdale* and *Gallia Christiana*, and our subsequent note on de la Haie.

Réunion générale des barons normands. Demandes du duc.

Les barons délibèrent.

Ne perdra rien k'il avoir deie,
 Mais fez homes è fez clers creie.
 Vos avez, font-il, grant barnage,
 Maint hom avez vaillant è sage,
 Ki sunt d'altresi grant poeir
 Et altretant kudent valeir
 Come nos à ki vos parlez :
 Ceste parole lor mostrez,
 Bien deivent al cunseil venir,
 Ki el travail deibvent partir.^x
 Iffi sunt li Barunz mandé
 Et à un jor tuit asemblé ;
 Dist lor a li Dus è mostre
 Come Heraut l'a enginié ;^y
 Ço donc Ewart l'out fet son eir
 L'i a toleit, nel' pout avoir.
 Vengier se volt s'il unkes poet,
 Maiz grant aïe li estuet ;^z
 Ne pot mie sanz lor aïe^a
 Avoir grant gent è grant navie :
 Die chescun ke il li fera,
 Kels genz è quantes nés merra.^b
 Cil dient k'il en parlereient,
 Et par cunseil l'en repondreient,
 Et li Dus lor a graanté.^c
 Al cunseil unt lunges esté,
 Li cunseil a lunges duré
 E lunges unt entrels doté^d
 Ke diront è ke respondront,
 E kele aïe li feront.
 Mult se font entrels dementé ;^e
 Sovent, ço dient, sunt grevé ;

^x Participer.

^y L'a trompé.

^z Lui faut.

^a Aide.

^b Et combien de navires il menera.

^c Y a consenti.

^d Héfité.

^e Plaint

Whatever his rights were, he those should have
If trust to his Clerks and his People he gave.

“ A mighty Lordship owns thy sway,
“ Wife men and brave thy rule obey ;
“ Men in all points as good as we,
“ Who here this day thy Couns’llors be :
“ Tell them thy tale, and let them shew,
“ What they advise, as best to do.
“ In Council, they should have their share
“ Who must a common danger dare.”

Thereafter his Barons were summon’d, and they⁴
Were gather’d together, all on a set day ;⁵
Them did the Duke address, to shew
The tale of Harold’s guile, and how
He had been robb’d of the Kingly feat,
Which Edward will’d him, by deceit.
Fain would he venge himself ; and pray’d,
This end to gain, their lib’ral aid.
An Army and Fleet, by their means alone,
Could be rais’d, which wanting, nought could be done.
So he ask’d them to say, in view of this end,
What Ships and what Men they would each of them send ?

They answer’d, “ Thereon ’twas their wish to debate,
“ And after discussion, their counsel to state.”
The Duke gave assent, and the Counsel begun,
Where long they debated o’er what should be done.
And first, what reply to the Duke should be made,
Regarding their service, in yielding him aid.
Hesitations and grievances made themselves heard,
And some on the state of their means said a word.

⁴ Conventum magnum apud Lillebonam fecit.—*Anonym. Contin. of Bede*, 331.

⁵ Wace does not name the place of meeting of this great council. *William of Malmesbury* informs us that it was at Lillebonne ; where the remains of the ancient castle still exist.

Guillaume de
Breteuil les en-
gage à seconder
le duc.

Mult se vont entrels dementant,
Par tropeax se vunt cunseillant,
Ci vint, ci quinze, ci quarante,
Ci trente, ci cent, ci feifante.
Li uns dient ke nés feront
Et od li Dus mer passeront ;
Li altres dient ke pas n'iront,
Kar mult deibvent è povres font ;
Li uns volent, li altres non.
Entrels aveit grande contention,^f
Quant le filz Osber vint avant :
K'alez vos, dist-il, estrivant ?
A vostre natural Seignor,
Ki s'entremet de querre enor,^g
Ne devez vos mie faillir ;
De vos fieus le devez fervir,
Et quant vos servir le devez,
Efforciement^h le servez.
N'atendez mie k'il vos priet,ⁱ
Ne ne demandez nul respiet,^k
Alez avant, si li offrez
Mult plus ke faire ne poez :
Ne fetes mie k'il se plaigne
Ne fon erre^l par vos remaigne.^m
Se la busuigne remaneit,
Par adventure toft direit,
A ço k'il est achoifonos,ⁿ
Ke tut areit perdu par nos ;
Fetes li tant ke il ne die
Ke s'erre fait par vos faillie.
Sire, font-il, la mer doton,^o
Ultre mer fervir ne devon,
Parlez por nos, ço vos préion,
La parole for vos meton :

Répugnance des
barons. Ils
chargent Guil-
laume de Bre-
teuil de répondre
pour eux.

By tens and by twenties, and fixties or more
Groups stood in discussion, and talk'd matters o'er.
While some were all ready, and prompt to agree,
To cross with the Duke in their Ships over Sea ;
Others said they would not,—Debt burthen'd them fore,
Such venture befitted not men that were poor.

Some would not,—some would, and discord was rife,
When thus spake Fitz Osber, appeasing the Strife :—

“ Which way do ye tend, Sirs? Why fails the accord,
“ And the duty ye owe, to your Seignor and Lord?
“ If he seeking honor, goes forth on its track,
“ What man is there here who would dare to hold back?
“ The service ye owe him, for Lands held in fee,
“ Ye needs must discharge, so discharge heartily.
“ Wait not till the Duke for your service may pray,
“ Let each do his duty, and crave no delay.
“ Go gallantly forward, and be not afraid
“ Of exceeding your means in your offers of aid.
“ Ne'er let it be said, that your Duke's scheme had fail'd,
“ From lack of support, or from courage that quail'd.
“ Suspicious he is, and perchance he will say,
“ That yours is the fault, if he meets with delay.
“ Should his project miscarry, to all he'll proclaim,
“ 'Twas *ye* caus'd the failure, and *yours* is the blame!”

The Barons made answer, “ The Sea is our dread ;
“ To the Land, Sir!—our service is limited ;
“ We pray and entreat thee, for us to decide,
“ And by that decision we all will abide.”—
Said he, “ Do ye me with full pow'rs invest?”
“ Yea,” answer'd each man, “ we'll obey thy behest ;

^f Dispute.

^g De chercher honneur.

^h De tout votre pouvoir.

ⁱ Qu'il vous prie.

^k Délai.

^l Son expédition.

^m Manque.

ⁿ Soupçonneux.

^o Craignons.

Guillaume de Breteuil fait, au nom des barons, les offres les plus brillantes au duc.

Vos direz ço ke vos voldrez,
 Nòs feron ço ke vos direz.
 Metez le vos, dist-il, for mei ?
 Oil,^p dist chescun, jo l'otrei ;^q
 Alon el Duc, por nos parlez,
 Ki nos assentemenz^r savez.
 Le filz Osher donc s'en torna,
 Devant els vint, por els parla :
 Sire, Sire, tornez vos ça ;
 Soz Ciel, dist-ìl, tel gent ne a
 Ke Sire deie tant amer,
 Ne ke tant face à énorer
 Come la gent ke vos avez ;
 Amer è garder la devez.
 Por vos, ço dient, avancier,
 Se lerreient^s en mer néier
 U en feu ardent geter.
 Mult vos poez en els fier,
 Lungement vos unt jà servi,
 Et à grant cost^t vos unt fui,
 E volentiers vos serviront ;
 Se bien l'ont fet, mielx le feront ;
 Ensemble o vos mer passeront,
 Vostre servise doubleront.
 Ki folt^u mener vint chevaliers,
 Quarante en merra volentiers,
 E ki de trente fervir deit,
 De sesante servir vos velt,^v
 E cil ki folt servir de cent,
 Dous cent en merra^w bonement ;
 E jo merrai en boen amor
 En la bufoigne mon Seignor
 Sesante nés apareillies
 De homes cumbatanz chargies.

" To the Duke let us go, thou Spokesman shalt be :

" Our wishes and purpose are all known to thee."

Fitz Osber look'd round him, and leading the way,
In the Duke's presence stood,—and thus did he say ;
" Deign, Sire, to regard us,—and know that there be
" Under Heav'n's high dome—none such Vassals as we,
" So true to their Liege—who his honor more prize,
" And doubtless their Seigneur loves them in likewise.
" In Sea might you drown us, or into flames thrust,
" If your service requir'd it ;—such Men you may trust.
" But service so faithful, and Treasures so vast,
" Devoted to thee in the times that be past,
" Shall be nought to the Service now laid at thy feet,
" We'll double thy Forces and double thy Fleet.
" For twenty Knights,—forty shall go to the Field,
" And sixty for thirty, this Muster shall yield ;
" Whilst Lords who a hundred should have in their pay,
" Shall come with two hundred, in battle array.
" I myself, in my Love for my Seigneur and Lord,
" Sixty Ships will equip,—with arm'd Crews aboard."

Fitz Osber thus spake, but the Lords stood aghast,
And marvell'd and trembl'd at that which had pass'd.
Such pledges of Service, in aid of the War,
Exceeded the Seneschal's warrant, by far.
Many said they retracted, and clamour'd aloud,
Confusion and murmurs pervaded the Crowd.
They fear'd that their service thus doubl'd, for once,
Would for ever be fix'd,—not claim'd for the nonce.
Thus trouble ran through them, so that not one word
Of reason or sense 'mid the Tumult was heard.

^p Oui.

^s Se laisseraient.

^v Vous veut.

^a J'y consens.

^t Coût, dépense.

^w En menera.

^r Nos intentions.

^u Qui a coutume.

Surprise et mé-
contentement
des barons.

Li Barunz tuit se merveillierent,
Mult fremirent è grondillierent^x
Des paroles ke cil difeit,
E des prameffes k'il faseit,
Dunc il ne aveit nul garant.
Plufors l'aloent defdisant ;
Mult oiffiez cort estormir,^y
Noise lever, Barunz fremir.
Li servise ki est doblez
Creiment k'il seit en feu tornez,^z
Et en costume seit tenu,
Et par costume seit rendu.
Mult part fu la cort troblée,
Grant fu la noise è la criée ;
Nus hoem ne poeit altre entendre,
Parole oïr ne raïson rendre.
Li Dus à une part se trait^a
Por la noise ki li desplait ;
Li Barunz mandā un è un,
Dist a è préié à chescun
Kà cest grant besuing tant li face,
Ke il ait s'amor è sa grace.
E quant cest ovre est si emprise,^b
Se il li doblent lor servise,
Se il de lor graé plus li font,
Mult bien, ço dist, fait li auront ;
Ne ke jamez d'ore en avant,
Ço lor a miz en convenant,
N'ierent^c de servise requis,
Forz tel ke solt estre al païz,^d
E tel come lor ancessor
Soleient^e fere à lor Seignor.
Dunc dist chescun k'il li fereit,
E quantes nés^f mener porreit,

Le duc les apaise
et les rassure.

On prend acte
des offres faites
par chacun.

The Duke, forely vex'd at the clamour and noise,
 Drew aside from the meeting, in rueful surprife.
 The Barons before him he call'd, one by one,
 And explain'd, in detail, all he wifh'd to be done.
 If his grace and his favor they fought to obtain
 There was need and occafion all efforts to ftrain.
 If freely and frankly they doubled their aid,
 The end to be gain'd was affur'd, as he faid.
 Hereafter no fervice He'd ever demand,
 Beyond what was fix'd by the Law of the Land ;
 Or fuch as their Anceftors gave by accord,
 And custom of right, to their Seigneur and Lord.

Hereupon by each one declaration was made,
 What Ships and what men he would furnifh in aid.
 And the Duke on a Lift ev'ry offer enroll'd,
 Where numbers of Ships, and of Knights were all told.
 Thus with each Baron's name was writ, fide by fide,
 The Ships and the Knights he was bound to provide.

Forty Ships Bifhop Odo the Duke's brother gave,
 And eager his part in the venture to have,
 The Bifhop of Mans,⁶ thirty Ships would prepare,
 With Sailors and Pilots all mann'd, as his fhare.
 Each Baron engag'd his Ships' quota to bear,
 But the number fo promis'd, I never could hear.⁷

^x Murmurèrent.

^y La cour, l'affemblée fe troubler.

^z Craignent qu'il ne foit changé en fief, en redevance.

^a Se retire.

^b Entreprife.

^c Ne feront.

^d Excepté tel qu'il eft d'ufage au pays.

^e Avaient coutume.

^f Et combien de navires.

^g *Vide* Appendix.

⁷ See in the Appendix the curious lift from Taylor's anon. MS. (fuppofed to be of the age of Hen. I.) containing the proportions in which William's naval force was furnifhed. Fitz Osbern's number agrees with Wace's account of his promife. The fame lift, with fome variations, (whence arifing we know not,) is printed in Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*; and in Littleton's *History of Hen. II.* vol. i. See alfo Ellis, *Domesday*, i. 227.

Appel et offres
aux chevaliers
des pays voisins.

Le duc va trou-
ver le roi Phi-
lippe, et réclame
son assistance.

E li Dus fist tot enbrever,^g
Nés fist è Chevaliers nombrer.
Li Barunz li unt graanté,
Dunc a chescun dist è nomé
Quanz Chevaliers il trovera,
E quantes nés mener porra.
De son frere l'Eveske Odun
Reçut quarante nés par dun ;
Li Eveske ki fu del Mans
Od mariniers, od esturmans^h
Fist trente nés apareillier ;
Mult voleit li Dus avancier.
Chescun des Barunz nés pramist,
Mez jo ne fai ke chescun dist.
Poiz a requis ses boens veizins
Bretunz, Mansels et Angevins,
Cels de Pontifⁱ è de Boloigne,
K'od li viegnent en fa besoigne.
A cels ki voldrent, pramist terre,
Se Engleterre poet cunquerre ;
A plusurs pramist livreifuns,^k
Riches soldées è boens duns.
De par tut manda soldéiers ;^l
Ki el gaaing vunt volentiers.
Al Rei de France son Seignor
Monstra por bien è por s'onor
K'il volt passer mer sur Heraut,
Ki li trice del tut è faut.^m
En Belveisin, à Saint-Girmer
Ala li Dus el Rei parler ;
Là le quistⁿ è là le truva,
E fa bufoigne li monstra,
Ke se tant aidier li voleit,
Ke par s'aïe^o éust son dreit,

Then his neighbors the Bretons, and Men of Anjou,
Of Maine—of Bologne—and the parts of Ponthieu,
To aid him he summon'd. On all who would go,
If England He conquer'd,—its Lands he'd bestow.
To many their outfits he promis'd in kind,
Large pay, and rich gifts in abundance to find.
And Soldiers of fortune he fought to retain,
Men ready to fight in all causes for gain.

To the Monarch of France he right duly explain'd,
As he ow'd to his Lord Who in that Kingdom reign'd,
How his weal and his honour were deeply engag'd,
Harold's treason sole cause of the War to be wag'd.

The Duke with the King at St. Girmer⁸ conferr'd
In the Balveisin district, and there The King heard
All the plans that were form'd ; and that if with His might
The King would assist him, in winning his right,
He, the Duke, would hold England as Fief at His hand,
And render Him service as Lord of that Land.

The King said, not only that He would abstain,
But fought the Duke's projects to check and restrain.
The King had been counsell'd by Barons of France,
In no way the plans of the Duke to advance,
Too great was his Pow'r, and, if greater it grew,
The King might have reason such greatness to rue.

⁸ Mettre en bref, mettre par écrit.

^h Pilotes.

ⁱ Du Ponthieu.

^k Présens, fournitures.

^l Soldats, aventuriers, gens qui, sans dépendre d'aucun souverain en particulier, faisaient métier de la guerre, et la faisaient pour celui que les payait le mieux.

^m Et manque de foi.

ⁿ Là le chercha.

^o Son aide.

⁸ Saint Germer, near Gournay. The king of France at this time was Philip, the successor of Henry, whose army was defeated at Mortemer. Philip was a minor ; Baldwin the fifth, William's father-in-law, being his guardian ; but not, as Sismondi says, taking any active part in the management of French affairs. Philip, however, could personally have taken no conduct of such matters.

Refus de Philippe d'après le conseil des barons français.

Engleterre de li prendreit,
 E volentiers l'en servireit ;
 E li Reis dist ke non fereit,
 Jà par sun gré n'i passereit.
 Franceiz orent al Rei préié,
 Dist li orent è cunseillié
 Ke il Williame n'avançast,
 Ke ne sofrist k'il esforçast.
 Trop est fort, ço li poet pefer,
 Folz est s'il le lait^p amender ;
 Kar se il li laisse assembler^q
 La grant richesse d'ultre-mer,
 L'aveir è la grant manantie^r
 Od la boene Chevalerie,
 Et od l'orguil de Normendie,
 Jamez n'ara paiz en sa vie.
 Por ço se deit li Reis pener
 Del Duc Willame destorber,^s
 K'il ne poisse plus halt munter,
 Ne en Engleterre passer.
 S'el Duc, font-il, aider volez,
 Sainz cost ne deniers ne poez :
 Tute France en fera grevée,
 E tute à povreté turnée.
 Jà Franceiz là ne vos fuira,^t
 Ne Franceiz mer ne passera,
 E fe là vos méfavenoit,
 A grant honte vos tornereit.
 Li Dus de son prou^u vos requiert,
 Maiz jà nul miex ne vos en iert.^v
 Quant Engleterre ara cunquise,
 Poiz jà n'areiz de li servise ;
 Petit fert, maiz meins servira ;
 Quant plus ara, meins vos fera.

For if to the means the Duke had at command,
 He added the wealth of that over-sea Land ;
 So that Normandy's Chivalry—Normandy's pride,
 With England's vast wealth, should be closely ally'd,
 The Peace of His realm would be always disturb'd,
 He had far better scheme how the Duke might be curb'd ;
 How best all his venturous plans could be wreck'd,
 And his projects on England effectively check'd.
 " If Thy will," they remark'd, " leans to give the Duke aid,
 " Ere thou giv'st it effect, count the cost to be paid.
 " Such burthen for France is too grievous, and great,
 " If impos'd, it brings Poverty home to our gate.
 " 'Tis an error to think that the French will agree
 " To follow Thy leading, Sire,—over the Sea.
 " And if misadventure should happen at all,
 " On Whom but on Thee would the shame thereof fall ?
 " The Duke seeks Thy aid, his own ends to advance,
 " But of gain for Thyself, there exists not a chance.
 " If England is won,—to the service now due,
 " From the Duke, Thou may'st bid an eternal adieu !
 " For scant is his service now render'd, and none
 " Will he willingly render, when England is won."

Such counsels, and stronger, if stronger could be,
 The French gave their Monarch, and sway'd Him, for He
 Withheld His assistance, endeav'ring likewise
 To thwart and oppose the Duke's enterprise.
 In what terms He answer'd I cannot declare,
 Yet know He refus'd in the project to share.

When the Duke from The King was about to depart
 He hid not the anger that lay at his heart.

^p S'il le laisse.

^s Troubler.

^v En fera.

^q Recueillir.

^t Ne vous suivra.

^r Richeffe.

^u De son profit.

Le duc se retire
fort irrité de ce
refus.

Por ço ke li Franceiz diseient
Et encor piz fe piz poeient,
Li Reis el Duc aidier ne vout,
Ainz le destorba quant il pout ;
Ne fai ke li Reis respundi,
Maiz jo fai bien k'al Duc failli.
Quant li Dus prift del Rei cungié
Com hoem ki out li cor irié :^w
Sire, dist-il, jo m'en irai,
Li mielx ferai ke jo porrai ;
Se Dex plaist si querrai mon dreit,
E se jo l'ai, ke Dex l'otreit,^x
Jà poiz par mal ne me verrez,
Ne par mal el mien n'entrèrez ;
E se jo faut^y à mon dreit prendre,
Ke Engleiz se poissent desfendre,
Jà n'i perdrai ne mez la teste :
Tute ert de mei fete la feste,
Et mi enfant aront ma terre ;
Jà for els ne l'irez cunquerre.
Seit mort u vif ke ke jo face,
Ne m'est gaires^z d'altrui manace.
Willame l'en leiffa à tant,
Ne l'en ala plus esforçant.
Li Conte de Flandres requist,
K'en fa bufuigne à li venist

Le duc s'adresse
au comte de
Flandre.

^w Le cœur en colère.

^y Je manque.

^x L'octroie.

^z Il ne m'importe guère.

⁹ Part of this passage is obscure in the original: the meaning *may* be that the reigning count of Flanders was requested to come to William *with* the latter's brother-in-law, i. e. bringing with him his, the then count's, son. But the succeeding speech of the varlet directly addresses the count as himself the brother-in-law; and most likely the sentence is elliptic, and what is meant is, that the count should come *to* him, and go on the expedition *with* him, as with a brother-in-law and friend. If this, however, be Wace's meaning, he is historically wrong; as Baldwin V. William's father-in-law, did not die till the succeed-

" I go, Sire," he said, " and will put forth my might,
 " On God's aid relying, to win me my right.
 " And if by His favor that right I obtain,
 " For evil We meet,—if We e'er meet again !
 " Ill too shall befall Thee, if scheming a raid
 " Thou think'st in my absence my Land to invade :
 " E'en should I miscarry, and fail of my end,
 " And the English be able their Land to defend,
 " My head and my heart undisturb'd will remain,
 " And all be well order'd, my rights to maintain.
 " My Sons shall inherit my Dukedom and Land,
 " Which ne'er shall be wrested by Thee from their hand !
 " Of living or dying small count do I make,
 " Nor menace nor peril my purpose can shake !"
 So saying, Duke William went forth on his way,
 Nor fought any farther The King's mind to sway.

The Ruler of Flanders,⁹ the Duke likewise pray'd
 As a friend, and his brother by marriage, for aid,

ing year ; and the application, therefore, must have been to him, not to the brother-in-law, afterwards Baldwin VI. Wace's account of the count's feelings and conduct is at variance with the received historical opinion, that he assisted William zealously ; particularly by using his influence in restraining any opposition from the young French king his ward. According to Sismondi, however, Baldwin did not interfere in French affairs ; and the course pursued by the king does not appear to have been friendly, but as hostile as the weakness attendant on a minority allowed. As to the policy of the court of Flanders, a variance in the accounts may possibly have arisen from confusion between the different counts, who succeeded each other quickly, and perhaps had opposite views : so that what is said by historians as to William's transactions with Baldwin V. may apply to a later period and another person. Though there were many adventurers from Flanders in William's service, we are not aware of any decisive proof that the count avowedly sent a force to aid the expedition in 1066. Gilbert de Gant is not heard of before 1069. He and such captains as Gherbod of Chester, Walter Flandrensis and Drogo de Bevrere may have been only volunteers, assisting for personal rewards. It may be added that Wace's account of the course pursued by France and Flanders is at any rate consistent ; and it is probable, as being dictated by motives of obvious policy.

H

Le comte veut
savoir ce qui lui
reviendra du ter-
ritoire anglais.

Réponse mo-
queuse du duc.

Cum od ferorge^a et od ami,
E cil de Flandres respondi
K'il voldreit bien anceis^b faveir,
S'il s'aïe^c voldreit avoir
Et assëur estre en voldreit,
D'Engleterre combien areit,
Et k'ele partie^d s'en fereit.
E li Dus dist k'il s'en ireit,
A sez Barunz en parlereit,
Et a els s'en cunseillereit,
E ço ke l'en li loerreit^e
Par son bref li remandereit.
Li Dus s'en vint, k'il n'en fist plus,
Poiz fist ço, ke ainz ne fist nus.
De parchemin prist un petit
K'il ni out leitre ne escrit,
Tot voi^f le féela en cire,
Et en la coe^g fist escrire,
Ke d'Engleterre tant areit
Comme li brief dedenz difeit.
Par un vaslet enloçonez,^h
Ki lunges od li out estez
A li brief al Conte enveié :
E il l'a el Conte baillié ;
Li Quens a li scéel brisié,
Li parchemin a despléié,ⁱ
Dedenz garda, maiz rien n'i vist,
Al vaslet l'a monsté è dist,
E li vaslet ki fu corteis
A dit al Conte demaneis :^k
Nient i a, nient aureiz,
Et à nient vos entendreiz.
Li Dus velt à vostre feror
Et à vos nevoz querre enor ;^l

And this was the answer the Count to him gave ;
That if his assistance the Duke sought to have,
He first and beforehand, must say and recount,
What portion of England should fall to the Count.

The Duke on his part, made reply, he'd consult
His Barons, and let the Count know the result.
But he took his own counsel, and did nothing more,
Save such thing as never had been done before.
A seal on a scrap of blank parchment he plac'd,
Whereon not a letter, or word, had been trac'd ;
And caus'd to be written without, on the Skin,
So much as the Count found written within,
Of the Kingdom of England the Count should win.
This Missive was borne by a Page aptly train'd,
Many years by the Duke in his service retain'd.
The letter he plac'd in the Count's own hand,
Which he open'd forthwith, by dividing the band ;
The Parchment lay open, before him outspread,
But there was not a line thereupon to be read.
So the count call'd the Page, and th' empty sheet shew'd,
And ask'd him to tell what this might forebode ?

The Page answer'd quickly, as by the Duke taught,
“ It means you get nothing,—as there too is nought !
“ Your Sister and Nephews the Glory will share,
“ Of the venture and risk which the Duke means to dare.
“ But if England's Kingdom they win by the Sword,
“ Who more than yourself would have there reign'd as Lord ?
“ Your Fortunes and Lot are with theirs so combin'd,
“ That with them in Lordship, perforce, you were join'd.

^a Beau-frère.

^b Auparavant.

^c Son aide.

^d Quelle part.

^e Et ce qu'on lui conseillera.

^f Tout vide.

^g La queue, la lanière du parchemin où pendait le scel.

^h Habile.

ⁱ Déployé.

^k Sur-le-champ.

^l Acquérir de l'honneur.

S'il Engleterre avoir péussent,
 Jà plus de vos Seignor n'en fussent ;^m
 De tut vos féissent Seignor,
 Tute fus vostre è tute lor ;
 Se Dex plaist, il la cunquerra,
 Jà vostre aïe n'i querra.
 Ne fai ke li Quens respundi,
 Maiz li vaslet s'en desparti.
 Li Dus volt raisunablement
 Fere fun apareillement.
 A l'Apostole fist mander
 Par clers ki forent bien parler,
 Come Heraut l'aveit servi,
 Serement falsé è menti,
 E com il fa fille ne prent
 Ne il li regne ne li rent,
 Ke Ewart li avait duné
 E Heraut li avait juré ;
 Del perjure féist justise
 Solunc l'esgart de Sainte Iglise,
 E se ço ert ke Deus volüst
 K'il Engleterre conquésist,
 De Saint Pierre la recevreit,
 Altre fors Dex n'en servireit.
 L'Apostole li otréia,
 Un gonfanon li envéia,
 Un gonfanon et un anel
 Mult precios è riche è bel ;
 Si come il dit, de foz la pierre
 Avait un des cheveux Saint Pierre.
 O cels enseignesⁿ li manda,
 E de par Dex li otréia

Le duc réclame
 l'autorisation du
 pape.

Le pape lui en-
 voie un étendard
 béni et des re-
 liques.

^m Personne plus que vous n'en ferait seigneur.

ⁿ Avec ces marques, ces insignes.

“ While now, if God pleaseth,—Duke William alone,
 “ Without your assistance, will win him a Throne !”
 How the Count answer’d, I never have learn’d,
 But straight to his Seignor the Page return’d.

Neglectful of nought that his aim might assure,¹
 Or further the object he fought to secure ;
 Clerks fluent of speech Duke William next chose,
 Who before the Apostle his case might expose ;
 Relate all his treatment by Harold, and shew
 How basely he lied, and was false to his Vow.
 How Adèle was dealt with, in spite of pledg’d troth,
 Edward’s Kingdom usurp’d, in the face of an Oath.
 Such perjuries punishment richly deserv’d,
 If the rules of the Church were but duly observ’d ;
 If England, (God helping him,) he could obtain,
 St. Peter should grant him the right there to reign,
 Him alone, under God, to serve he was fain !
 Th’ Apostle accorded his pray’r in each thing,
 And sent him a Banner,² and also a Ring.
 And if, as ’tis said, there was under the stone,
 A hair of St. Peter,³—most precious, I own.
 With these marks of favor, He bade him proceed ;
 And promis’d and granted him, that, for his meed,

The Pope.

¹ Seeks aid from the Roman Emperor Henry, and from Swen King of Sweden. Alexander was at that time Pope.—WILLIAM OF POITIERS, *Ed. du Chefne*, p. 197.

² Papa vexillum in omen regni concedit.—*Continuation of Bede*—(anonymous), p. 331. *Ed. Heidelberg*, 1587.

³ Another MS. reads “ une des denz Saint Pierre.” *Benoit de Sainte-More* says of the pope,

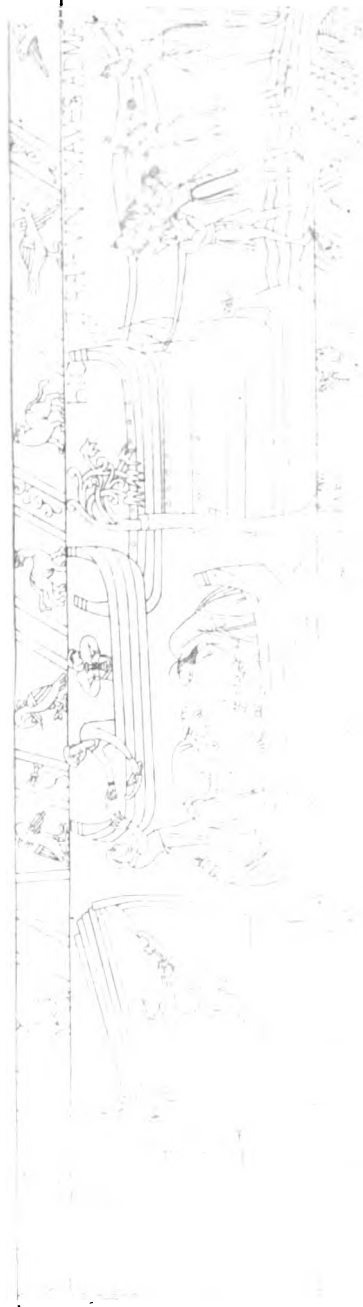
A Rome ert donc Pape Alixandre
 Jusz hoem, saintifmes e verais.

Apparition d'une
comète.

Ke Engleterre cunquéfist,
Et de Saint Pierre la tenist.
El terme ke ço estre dut,
Une esteile grant aparut,
E quatorze jors resplendi
Od très lons raiz deverz midi :
Tele esteile folt l'en vier^o
Quant novel Rei deit regne avoir.^p
Afez vi homes ki la virent,
Ki ainz è poiz lunges veskirent ;
Comete la deit affeler
Ki des esteiles volt parler.
Li Dus fi fu joios è liez^q
Del gonfanon è del congiez
Ke l'Apostole li duna.
Fevres è charpentiers manda ;
Dunc véiffiez à granz esforz
Par Normendie à toz li porz,
Mairrien^r atraire è fust^s porter,
Cheviles fere et boiz doler,
Nés et esquiz apareillier,
Veiles estendre, mast drecier
A grant entente et à grant cost.^t
Tot un esté et un aost^u
Mistrent al navie atorner^w
Et as mefnies asembler.
N'out en la terre Chevalier,
Ne boen serjant ne boen archier,
Ne païsant de boen corage,
Ki de cumbatre out aage,
Ke li Dus n'en ait fet requerre
D'aler od li en Engleterre.
Rentes pramist as vavassors
Et as Barunz pramist énors.^x

Construction et
équipement des
vaisseaux nor-
mands.

Offres faites à
tous les hommes
propres au ser-
vice militaire.



He, England should conquer, and there in God's name,
As a Fief of St. Peter, rule over the fame.

Whilst these things were passing, for twice seven days
There shone in the Heav'ns a Star of bright rays;
O'er the southerly region three tails from it spread,
Pervading men's minds with an ominous dread.
Such stars are most commonly thought to portend
Great changes on Earth,—new Kings,—or Their end.
I have seen and convers'd with old men, in my time,
Who beheld the said Star; Men then in their prime.
And Comet's* the name of this wonderful Light,
So call'd by the Students of Stars of the Night.

The Standard, and licence to follow his bent,
Thus granted from Rome, fill'd the Duke with content.
And workers in metal, and workers in Wood,
He gather'd together, as fast as he could;
The Ports of all Normandy teem'd with new life,
Wherever you turn'd preparation was rife.
Materials and Timber were haul'd to the shore,
Bolts fashion'd, Planks jointed, or brought out of store:
Boats fitted, Ships rigging, Masts rais'd, Sails outspread,
With forefight and outlay in readiness made.
All Summer and August, they labour'd and wrought,
That the Forces, and Fleet, might together be brought.
Not a Peasant, or Bowman, or Serjeant, or Knight,
Who was not disabl'd by age for the fight,
But got the Duke's summons to England to go,
With promise of honors, and spoil of the Foe.

° On a coutume de voir.

° Quand un royaume doit avoir un nouveau roi.

¶ Et réjouit.

¶ Merrain.

° Bois.

† Dépense.

° Un mois d'août.

° A préparer la flotte.

° Fiefs, domaines.

* Recent calculations prove that this comet is that to which the name of the astronomer
Halley has been given.

Rendez-vous général à Saint-Valery-sur-Somme.

Guerriers poitevins et bretons.

Digression relative aux merveilles de la forêt de Brecheliand.

Quan li nés furent atornées,
 En Somme furent aancrées,
 A Saint-Valeri menées;
 As Barunz furent là livrées.
 Mut out nés è batels en Some,
 Une ewe^y ke l'en iffi nome.
 Some part^z Pontif è Vimou,
 E Vimou dure trefque Ou;^a
 Ou part Vimou è Normendie,^b
 Un païz d'autre avoerie;
 Ou est ewe, Ou est Chastel,^c
 Ki fiet for l'ewe d'Ou^d mult bel.
 Li Dus out genz de plusors parz;
 Li visquens i vint de Toarz,
 Haimon de bien grant poeir
 E ki poeit grant gent avoir.
 Alain Felgan vint el passage,
 Ki des Bretunz out grant barnage;
 De Peleit le filz Bertran
 E li Sire i vint de Dinan,
 E Raol i vint de Gael
 E maint Breton de maint Chastel,
 E cil de verz Brecheliand,
 Dunc Bretunz vont sovent fablant,
 Une forest mult lunge è lée,
 Ki en Bretagne est mult loée;^e
 La Fontaine de Berenton
 Sort^f d'une part lez le perron;
 Aler i folent venéor;^g
 A Berenton par grant cholor,
 Et o lor cors^h l'ewe puisfier
 Et li perron de fuz moillier,

^y Une rivière.

^a Jusqu'à la ville d'Eu.

^c Eu est rivière, Eu est château.

^z Sépare le Ponthieu et le Vimeu.

^b Eu partage le Vimeu et la Normandie.

^d Qui est bâti sur la rivière d'Eu.

At the mouth of Somme's water, at St. Valeri,
 The Veffels were moor'd when prepar'd for the Sea;
 And the number of Ships, and of Boats too, was large,
 Which there to the Barons were given in charge.
 The River call'd Somme laves the Shores of Vimou,
 And flows between them and the Coast of Ponthieu.
 The land of Vimou unto Eu doth extend,
 The frontier of Normandy, Eu doth defend,
 And is therefore the point where the two diftricts end.
 Eu is alfo a River, and by the like name
 Is known the fine Caſtle on Banks of the fame.

The Duke gather'd People from all parts around,
 Haimon, Viſcount of Troarz,⁵ amongſt them was found,
 A Chieftain was he who a great force could wield,
 When minded to ſummon his men to the field.
 To the tryſling place alſo came Alain Felgan,
 A Baron of name from the parts of Bretagne.⁶
 Fitz Bertran de Peleit, and Raol de Gael,
 With the Seigneur of Dinan, obey'd the Duke's call.
 And many a Breton, from Caſtle and Tow'r,
 By the Brecheliant Foreſt aſſembl'd his Pow'r.
 That diſtrict of Foreſt, ſo broad and ſo long,
 Whoſe wonders are told by the Bretons in ſong:
 Where Berenton's fountain wells forth on its courſe,
 Which from under a Rock in a Cave hath its ſource.
 When Summers are fultry, there Huntſmen repair,
 And filling their Horns from the Streamlet ſo fair,

* A beaucoup de réputation.

† Prend ſa ſource.

‡ Les chaffeurs ont coutume d'y aller.

‡ Et avec leurs cors de chaffe.

⁵ AIMERI, viſcount of THOUARS, the fourth of the name. ALAIN FELGAN and the other chiefs in the expedition will be more conveniently noticed hereafter.

⁶ Benoit goes into much detail concerning William's previous arrangements with the Bretons.

Por ço soleient pluéeⁱ avoir :
 Issi soleit jadis pluveir
 En la forest tut environ,
 Maiz jo ne sai par kel raifun.
 Là folt l'en li fées véir,^k
 Se li Bretunz disent veir,^l
 Et altres merveilles plusors ;
 Aigres folt avéir destors
 E de granz cers mult grant plente,^m
 Maiz li vilain ont deserté.
 Là alai jo merveilles querre,ⁿ
 Vis la forest è vis la terre ;
 Merveilles quis,^o maiz nes' trovai ;
 Fol m'en revins, fol i alai,
 Fol i alai, fol m'en revins,
 Folie quis, por fol me tins.

L'auteur avoue
 les avoir cher-
 chées en vain.

Les offres de
 Guillaume at-
 tirent beaucoup
 de volontaires.

Del Duc normant fu tost alée
 Par plusors lieus la renommée,
 Ke fur Heraut passer deveit,
 Ki Engleterre li toleit ;
 Dunc vindrent soldéiers à lui
 Et uns è uns, è dui è dui,
 E quatre è quatre, è cinc è fis
 Et fet è wit è nof è dis,
 E li Dus toz les reteneit,
 Mult lor donout è prameteit.
 Plusors vindrent par covenant
 Ke il aveient fet avant.
 Plusors del Duc terres voleient,
 S'Engleterre prendre poeient,
 Alquanz soldées demandoent,
 Livreifuns è duns covetoent ;^p
 Sovent les estovent despendre,^q
 Ne poeient lunges atendre.

They sprinkle the water so drawn from that Nook,
 On the face of the Rock whence gushes the Brook.
 Then, (wherefore I know not,) the Forest all round
 Is moisten'd with show'rs,—which pass not that bound.
 There too, (if there's truth in the Stories they tell,)
 The Fairy folk gather, and dance round the Well.
 Tho' wonders like these in abundance it hath,
 Its Glades are deserted, and rough is each Path;
 And herds of wild Deer thro' the solitudes roam,
 Where whilome the Peasant till'd fields round his Home.

Thither went I myself, seeking marvels like these,
 But nought saw I there, save the Land and the Trees;
 And seeking the marvellous, found, to my cost,
 My faith was but folly,—my quest, labour lost.

Meanwhile the Duke's fame, and the Schemes he had plann'd,
 Were publish'd and bruited abroad in the Land;
 How he purpos'd Invasion on England to make,
 From Harold that Kingdom by conquest to take.
 So Soldiers or singly, or two, three, or four,
 Or in bands of half-dozens,—seven, eight, nine, or more,
 To his Banner resorted, and by his command,
 Largely paid, and more promis'd, were knit to his band.
 The service of some was by contract retain'd,
 Lands held out to others, if England was gain'd;
 While some were among them who prompt payment fought,
 And were only by gifts and by largesses bought;
 Since from their own means, having largely to pay,
 They were not well able to brook long delay.⁷

ⁱ Pluie.

¹ Disent vrai.

² Chercher.

³ Souvent il les fallait défrayer.

⁷ *Benoit de Sainte-More* thus expresses himself on the subject:

Ci receveront les granz loiers

^k Là on a coutume de voir les fées.

^m Il y a de rudes détours et une grande quantité de cerfs.

^o Cherchai.

^p Convoitaient.

Opinions di-
verses sur le
nombre des vais-
seaux composant
la flotte.

Retard causé par
le défaut de vent
favorable.

Ne vos voil mie metre en letre
Ne jo ne m'en voil entremetre
Kels Barunz è quanz Chevaliers,
Quanz vavaffors è quanz soldéiers
Out li Dus en fa cumpaingnie,
Quant il out pris tot son navie ;
Maiz jo oï dire à mon pere,
Bien m'en fovint, maiz varlet ere,^r
Ke set cenz nés, quatre meins, furent,
Quant de Saint-Valeri s'esfmurent,^s
Ke nés, ke batels, ke esqueis^t
A porter armes è herneis.
E jo en escript ai trové,
Ne fai dire s'est vérité,
Ke il i out treis mille nés
Ki porterent veiles è trés.^u
A tantes nés^v pot l'en faveir
Ke mult i pout grant gent avoir.
A Saint-Valeri lungement
Sejornerent por avoir vent ;
As Barunz a mult anoié ;^w
Poiz unt tant li covent préié
Ke la chaffe Saint-Valeri
Mistrent as chams for un tapi.
Al cors saint vinrent tuit orer
Cil ki debveient mer passer ;

Qu'aveir deivent bons chevaliers ;
Les terres, les fieus, les honors,
Plus c'unc n'orent lor anceifors ;
Par lor valor, par lor proeces,
Auront dès or les granz richescs,
Les granz tenures e les fieus.

^r Mais j'étais enfant.

^s Sortirent.

^t Esquifs.

^u Mâts.

^v Par une si grande quantité de navires.

^w Ennuyé.

'Twere a task which I never could duly fulfil,
 Nor comes it, indeed, within scope of my Will,
 To name all the Barons, or number each Knight,
 Who aided the Duke to recover his right;
 Or to count up the Vavassors, Soldiers and all,
 Who embark'd, having lifted themselves at his call.
 Yet well do I mind me,—altho' but a Lad,
 How my Father oft spake of the Ships the Duke had;
 Seven hundred less four,⁸ in number were they,
 (As he said,) which put forth from St. Valeri's Bay.
 Yet I find it recorded that three thousand Sail⁹
 Squar'd Yards, and set Canvas, awaiting the Gale.
 Arms and harness in Barges and Skiffs were convey'd;
 Perchance with their numbers, those thousands were made.
 To fit out such a Fleet, it is well to be seen,
 The number of hands very great must have been.

Long time at St Valeri's,¹ waiting a Wind,
 Sorely vexing the Barons, the Fleet was confin'd.
 At the Convent at length they pray'd and besought,
 That St. Valeri's Shrine² to the Camp might be brought;
 So the Shrine was display'd, and there gather'd around
 All the Men of that Host, who were over-sea bound.

⁸ The accounts differ as to the number of vessels, arising principally from a different principle of computation; some reckoning "the small craft," others not. *Benoit de Sainte-More* says,

Si out treis mile nefes au meins,
 De ce nos fait l'autor certains.

⁹ *Classem ad tria millia navium festinanter et bene construi iussit.*—WILL. CALCULI GEMMETICENSIS MONACHI, *Hist. Normannorum*, Lib. vii.

¹ The fleet sailed on the 29th September, 1066.

² *Sacris supplicationibus adeo decertavit ut corpus etiam acceptissimi Deo Confessoris Gualerici, contra præpedientem et pro secundo vento extra Basilicam deferret.*—WILLIAM OF POITIERS, *du Cheſne*, p. 198.

On l'obtient enfin par l'intercession de saint Valery. Détails sur le vaisseau du duc et sur la flotte.

Tant i ont tuit deniers offert,
 Tot li cors faint en ont covert.
 Emprez cel jor asez briement^{*}
 Orent bone oré è bon vent.
 Une lanterne fist li Dus
 Metre en fa nef el mast de fus,
 Ke les altres nés la véïssent,
 Et emprès li lor cors tenïssent.
 Une wire-wire dorée[†]
 Out de coivre en fomet levée.
 Sor li chief de la nef devant,
 Ke marinier apelent brant,[‡]
 Out de coivre fet un enfant,
 Saete et arc tendu portant ;
 Verz Engleterre out son viaire,[§]
 Et là fafeit semblant de traire,^{||}
 Ki kel part ke la nef coreit,
 Semblant de traire avant fafeit.
 De la flote ki fu si grant
 E de la gent dont i out tant
 N'i out ke dui nés perillies,
 Ne fai s'el furent trop chargies.
 Li Dus out grant Chevalerie,
 E mult out nés en fa navie ;

* Promptement.

† Une girouette de cuivre doré.

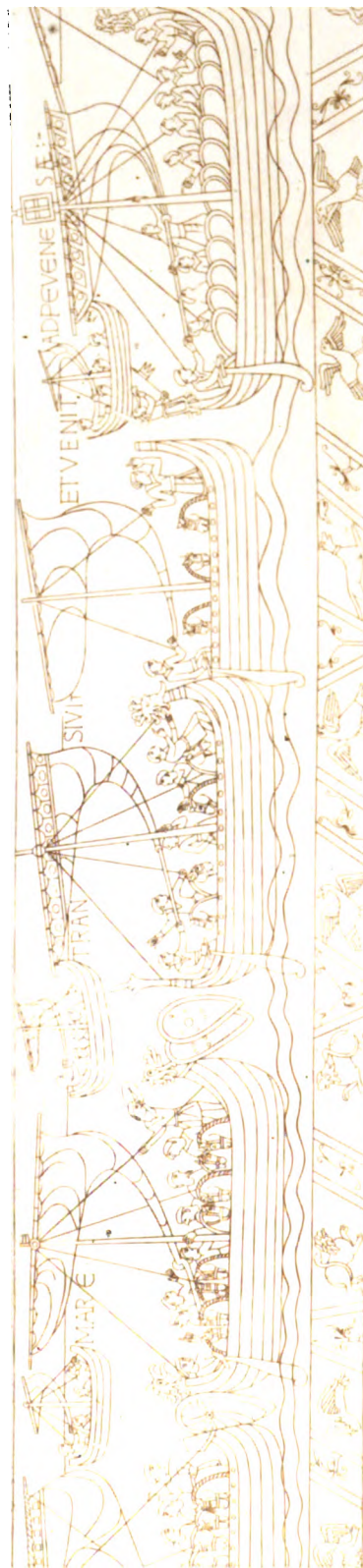
‡ Proue.

§ Son visage.

|| De tirer.

§ In the Bayeux tapestry, the child will be seen at the poop, not at the prow, to which, however, he looks ; he holds a trumpet. In Taylor's Anon. MS. (*Littleton*, i. 464) it is stated that William's own ship was called Mora, being the gift of Matilda ; and the child is stated to have pointed towards England with his right fore-finger, and to have held to his mouth an ivory horn with his left. According to *Ordericus Vitalis*, one Fitz Stephen under Hen. I. claimed to take the king in the unfortunate Blanche-Nef, because his father had carried over the conqueror. *Benoit de Sainte-More* gives a short account of the voyage, and of the formation of the first fort, which he places at Pevensey :

D'entrer es nefz e de charger



Much praying, rich gifts on the Relics they threw,
 Till coin heap'd on coin, conceal'd them from view.
 Thereafter,—yea even from that very day,
 The weather grew fair,—the wind blew the right way.

On board his own Ship, at the head of the Mast,
 The Duke had a Lanthorn run up and made fast ;
 That Steersmen and Pilots might see and take heed,
 Their course so to shape as to follow his lead.
 A gilt copper Vane, over all, serv'd to shew,
 From the top of the Lanthorn, which way the Wind blew.
 At the head of his Ship there was fix'd, on the Prow,
 Or forward, (as Seamen would say,) at the Bow,
 A figure of Bronze, which an Infant portray'd,³
 Bow in hand, the string drawn,—and Bolt ready laid,
 'Gainst England to launch ;—aye aiming ahead,
 On what course soever the Duke's Vessel sped.

Amongst all the Ships of so mighty a Fleet
 It befell only two with misfortune to meet ;
 Peradventure from stowing too many away,
 Of th' Army so vast they were meant to convey.
 The Duke transported across the Sea,
 A mighty force of his Chivalry.

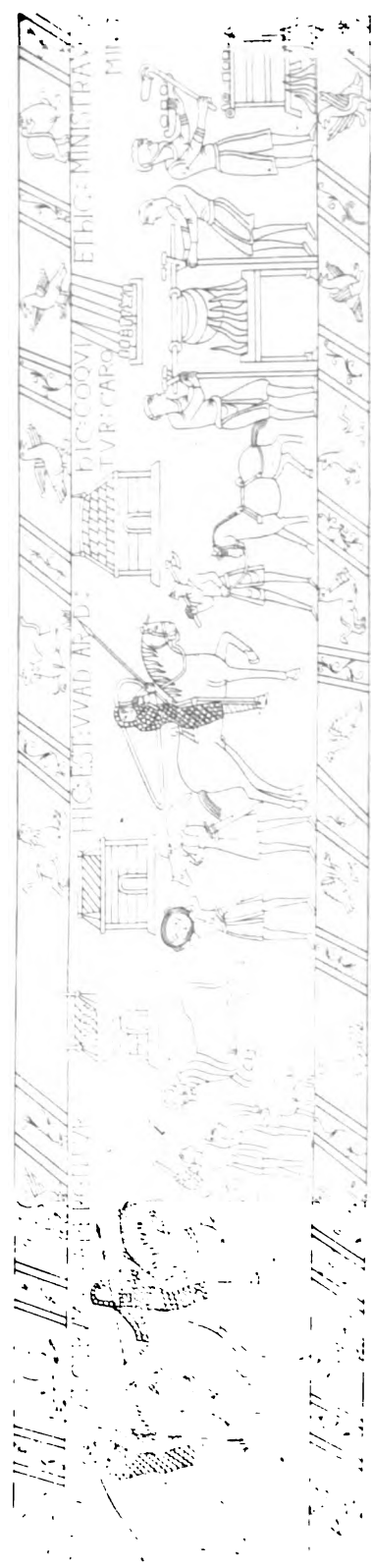
Ne forst esmai ne destorbier,
 Kar l'aure venta duce e queie
 Eissi que li mers trop n'ondeie.
 Enz l'anuitant furent tuit enz ;
 Od ce que mult fu dreiz li venz,
 Traïstrent les veiles, si figlèrent,
 Au rei des ceus se comandèrent
 Od joie e od tens duz e bel
 Arrivent a Pevenesfel.
 Illoc sempres defus le port
 Ferment un chastel bel e fort.

Mult out archiers, mult out ferjanz,
 Homes hardiz è combatanz ;
 Carpentiers è engignéors,
 Boens fevres^c è boens ferréors.^d
 Li nés sunt à un port turnées,
 Tutes sunt ensemble arivées ;
 Tutes sunt ensemble acoftées ;
 Tutes sunt ensemble aanchrées ;
 E tutes ensemble afféchierent,
 Et ensemble les deschargierent.
 Prèz de Hastinges arriverent,
 L'une nef à l'autre acofterent.
 Donc véiffiez boens mariniers,
 Boens ferjanz è boens esquiers
 Saillir fors, è nés deschargier,
 Ancres geter, cordes fachier,^e
 Escuz è feles fors porter,
 Destriers è palefreiz tirer.
 Li archiers sunt primiers iessuz,
 El terrain sunt primiers venuz ;
 Dunc a chescun son arc tendu,
 Couire et archaiz el lez pendu.^f
 Tuit furent rez^g è tuit tondu,
 De cors dras^h furent tuit vestu ;
 Prez d'affaillir, prez de ferir,
 Prez de torner, prez de gaudir :
 Tuit esteient bien rebrachiez,
 E de combatre encoragiez.
 Li rivage unt tuit porcacé,
 Nul hoem armé n'i ont trové.
 Quant iessu furent li archier,
 Duncⁱ iffirent li Chevalier
 Tuit armé è tuit haubergié,^k
 Escu al col, healme lacié ;^l

On arrive près
de Hastinges.

Les archers dé-
barquent les pre-
miers.

Débarquement
des chevaliers.



And many an Archer, and Serjeant of Arms,
 Brave men, us'd to combats, and Warfare's alarms.
 Many Smiths, and men skill'd in the Carpenter's trade,
 And many of those by whom Engines are made.
 For the self-same Port, all the Vessels were steer'd,
 And sailing together, the English Coast near'd.
 Together their Anchors were heav'd overboard,
 Together each Ship in her station was moor'd.
 Together the Vessels were beach'd on the Sand,
 Together their Crews disembark'd upon Land.
 'Twas Hastings' Beach they had fetch'd with the Tide,
 Where they lay, high and dry, and side by side.

Then was seen how Sailors soon swarm'd on the Strand,
 How the Serjeants and Squires, and all, lent a hand;
 Disembarking themselves, and unloading their Store,
 Ropes hauling, and casting fresh Anchors ashore:
 Heaping Saddles and Bucklers in haste on the strand,
 Or bringing their Palfreys and War-steeds to Land.
 First and foremost the Archers stood rang'd ashore,
 His Bow and full Quiver each man of them bore,
 Close shaven, short kirtled, and cloth'd all alike,
 Prepar'd for attack, and all ready to strike,
 Manœuvre, or Skirmish, and eager to fight,
 If only on foemen they haply could light.
 Advancing, they scour'd the Coast all around,
 But far as they went, not an arm'd man was found.

Next to the Archers, the Chivalry
 Debark'd in pride of their Panoply.
 With Hauberks donn'd, with Bucklers brac'd,
 And on their Heads their Helmets lac'd.

^c Bons ouvriers.

^d Bons ouvriers en fer, forgerons.

^e Tirer, hâler.

^f Carquois et flèches pendus au côté.

^g Rafés.

^h D'habits courts.

ⁱ Alors.

^k Revêtus du haubert, du haubergeon.

^l Le bouclier pendu au col, le casque en tête.

Débarquement
des charpentiers.

Etablissement
d'un camp en-
touré de re-
tranchemens de
bois.

On fait ensuite
un joyeux repas.

Aventure d'un
astrologue noyé
dans la traversée.

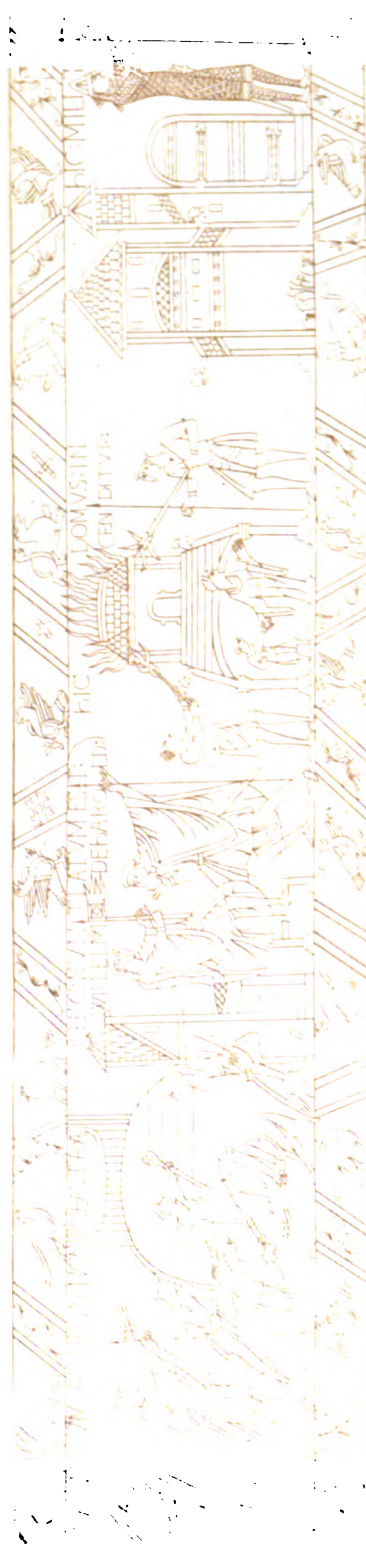
Ensemble vindrent al gravier,^m
Chescun armé for son destrier.ⁿ
Tuit orent ceintes les espées,
El plain^o vindrent lances levées ;
Li Barunz orent gonfanons,
Li chevaliers orent penons,
Joste les archiers se sunt mis,
Li terrain ont avant porpris.^p
Li charpentiers, ki emprès vindrent,
Granz coignies en lor mains tindrent ;
Doloères è besagües
Orent à lor costez pendues.
Quant as archiers furent josté^q
Et as Chevaliers asemlé,
Par cunseil firent esgarder^r
Boen lieu à fort chastel garder.
Donc ont des nés mairrien geté,
A la terre l'ont traîné,
Trestut percié è tut dolé ;
Li cheviles tutes dolées
Orent en granz bariz portées :
Ainz ke il fust bien avespré,^s
En ont un chastelet fermé.^t
Dunc véissiez coisines faire,
Feus alumer, viandes atraire.
Dunc s'asist li Dus el mangier ;
Li Barun è li Chevalier
A mengier orent à plenté ;^u
Li Dus en out asez porté ;
Asez mengierent tuit è burent ;
Mult furent liez^v k'à terre furent.

Un clers esteit al Duc venuz

^m Sur le sable, sur le bord de la mer.

ⁿ Cheval de bataille.

^o Dans la plaine.



His own War-horfe each Knight bestrode ;
 They clos'd their ranks, as onward they rode.
 Each had his Sword, ready girt on his Thigh,
 They bore their Lances, with points on high.
 The Barons were known by their Gonfalons,
 On the Knights' Lance Staves there wav'd Pennons.
 The ground they took, by the Archers lay,
 And was mark'd for their Camp betimes that day.

The Carpenters came next on Shore,
 Broad Axes in their hands all bore ;
 Adzes and planes at their girdles hung,
 Or brac'd acrofs their shoulders fwung.
 As they near'd the Archers' camping ground,
 And where the Horsemen were spread around,
 They cautiously each Spot survey'd,
 Whereon a Fort might best be made.
 Materials from the Ships were drawn,
 Timber and Planks, all ready fawn,
 Pierc'd and adjusted, and set in frame,
 For bolts and Pins, which in barrels came ;
 So that when daylight gan to wane,
 A clos'd Fort stood upon the Plain.

Then food was brought, and fires were made,
 The Cooks began to ply their trade.
 The Duke himself to sup prepar'd,
 Barons and Knights the Banquet shar'd.
 Amply they feasted, for of good fare
 The Duke brought plenty and to spare.
 So they ate and drank, that gallant Band,
 Right glad to find themselves on Land.

Now a certain Clerk to the Duke had come,

^p Occupé.

^q Joints.

^r Examiner.

^s Avant que la nuit fût venue.

^t Fortifié.

^u En abondance.

^v Joyeux.

Ainz ke de Some fust méuz ;
D'Astronomie, ço difeit,
E de nigromancie faveit,
Por devinéor se teneit,
De plusurs chofes fortiffeit.^w
Cil aveit al Duc deviné,
E fort aveit de ço geté
Ke mer falvement passereit,
E fa busuigne espleitereit
Sanz ço k'il ne se cumbatreit,
Ke Heraut tant li prametreit
E tant direit è tant fereit,
Ke la terre del Duc teindreit
E fis hoems ligès devendreit,
E li Dus fain s'en reveindreit.
Del bien passer out bien forti,^z
Maiz del cumbatre il out menti.
Quant li Dus fu ultre passé,
E falvement fu arrivé,
De son devin li a membré,^y
Afez l'a quis è demandé ;
Un des esturmans respundi,^z
Ke cel devin aveit failli :
En mer esteit, ço dist, néié^z
Et en un nef perillié^z.
Ne pot, dit li Dus, ço chaloir ;^a
N'esteit mie de grant favoir ;
Malement devina de mei,
Ki ne fout deviner de fei ;
S'il de tot fout dire véir,^b
Bien déust fa mort porvéir.^c
Fol est ki se fie en devin,
Ki d'altrui ovre fet la fin
E terme ne fet de fa vie,

Before he put forth from the Somme ;
 Who said, Astronomy he knew,
 And Necromantic science too.
 Events to come he could foretell,
 Make Horoscopes or cast a Spell ;
 And by his art he undertook,
 To tell the fortunes of the Duke.

He said that the Duke over Sea should fail
 In safety,—nor of his object fail.
 Harold would parley, and yield, and be fain
 To hold of the Duke as His Suzerain,
 Who would come safe back to His Land again.
 He was right for the Voyage, but as to the fight,
 'Tis very well known that he lied outright.

Now when the Duke had cross'd with the tide,
 And was safely moor'd on the other side,
 'Mongst other things of the Prophet he thought,
 And wish'd to his presence he might be brought.
 But a Mariner, standing near at hand,
 Declar'd he never had reach'd the Land.
 Nowhere in Camp could the Prophet be found,
 It seem'd in a Ship that was lost he was drown'd.

The Duke said,—“ It matters but little indeed,
 “ His knowledge was small, for it fail'd in his need.
 “ Small count shall I make what was said about me,
 “ By one too blind his own end to foresee.
 “ Who schemeth the future to know and decry,
 “ Should be able to scan his own destiny.
 “ 'Tis folly to place any faith in a Seer,
 “ Who would limit the term of another's career ;
 “ Or in those from whom their own fate's conceal'd,

▼ Prédifait, jetait le fort.

⁂ Mariniers.

⁂ Prédit.

⁂ Importer.

ᵇ Vrai.

⁂ Lui est souvenu.

ᶜ Prévoir.

D'altrui prend garde è fei s'oblie.
 Iffi est del devin remés,^d
 E al sec sunt traites li nés.

Habileté du duc
 à tirer un augure
 favorable d'un
 accident.

Quant li Dus primes fors iffi,
 Sor fez dous palmes^e fors chaï;
 Sempres i out levé grant cri
 E distrent tuit: mal signe est ci;^f
 Et il lor a en haut crié:
 Seignors, par la resplendor Dé,^g
 La terre ai as dous mainz feizie;
 Sanz chalenge n'iert maiz guerpie;
 Tote est nostre quant qu'il i a;^h
 Orⁱ verrai ki hardi fera.

Destruction de la
 flotte par son
 ordre.

Donc corut un hoem al terrain,
 Sor un bordel^k tendi fa main,
 Plein puing prist de la couverture,
 El Duc torna à grant aleure;
 Sire, dist-il, avant venez,
 Ceste faisine recevez;
 De ceste terre vos faisis,
 Vostre est sainz dote li païs.
 E li Dus respont: Jo l'otrei,^l
 E Dex i feit ensemble od mei.
 Dunc fist à toz dire è crier,
 Et as mariniers comander
 Ke li nés fussent despécies,^m
 A terre traites è percies,ⁿ
 Ke li coarz ne revertissent^o
 Ne par li nés ne s'enfoïssent.

^d Fini, terminé.

^e Paumes des mains.

^f Ceci est mauvais signe.

^g Par la splendeur de Dieu.

^h Tout ce qu'il y a.

ⁱ Maintenant.

^k Chaumière.

^l Je le veux bien.

^m Brisées, dépecées.

ⁿ Tirées et percées.

^o Ne s'en retournent.

“ While that of the rest of mankind is reveal’d.”
 So ended the Prophet, nor when he was gone
 Did the work at the Ships go less quickly on.

As the Duke left his Vessel to set foot on Land,
 He stumbl’d⁴ and fell with his hands on the Strand.
 All those who stood near him uprais’d a great cry,
 Struck with fear,—at so evil an Augury.
 But the Duke he exclaim’d,—“ By the splendor of God
 “ I thus with both hands lay my grasp on this Sod.
 “ Prize without challenging—no man can make,
 “ So thus of all round us due seizin I take.
 “ We shall see who are brave!” Then forward now ran
 To a Hovel there standing a certain man,
 From the thatch a handfull of straw-halm he tore,
 And quick to the Duke the bundle he bore.
 Then cheerily speaking, said, “ Sire, by this sign
 “ Possession is giv’n,—this Land it is Thine,
 “ Receive it, and steadfastly hold it, for We
 “ By Act of Investiture give it to Thee.”
 Him the Duke answer’d,—“ Yea, such is Our Will,
 “ God sanction the Act, and Our wishes fulfill.”
 Then orders He issu’d, and gave strict command,
 To the Mariners, and to the Men of his Band,
 The Ships to dismantle, and haul up ashore,
 And to scuttle them there, that so never more
 The faint hearts among them might hope by their aid
 To fly, and the Perils of War to evade.⁵

⁴ In egressu navis pede lapsus, euentū in melius cōmutavit acclamāte sibi proximo milite: Tenes inquit Angliam Comes, Rex futurus.—*Continuation of Bede*—(anonymous.) *Ed. Heidelberg*, 1587, p. 331.

⁵ The Bayeux tapestry is considered to contradict Wace’s supposed story of the ships being destroyed. *Benoit* says nothing of it. Is it clear that the ships are not meant to be represented in the tapestry as drawn ashore, dismantled, and in a state unfit for service?

Il s'empare de
Pevensey.

Un chevalier
anglais va an-
noncer à Harold
l'arrivée de Guil-
laume.

Ne poiz pas tot enfemle escrire,
Ne tot enfemle ne pois dire ;
Maiz ke ke jo auge difant
Primes ariere è puiz avant,
Véritez est k'à l'ariver
Fist li Dus fa gent tute armer :
Li primier jor ke il là vindrent,
Joste le rivage se tindrent,
Al demain vindrent al chatel
Ke l'en claime Penevesel.
Li eskuier è li forrier,
E cil ki voldrent gaagnier
Pristrent robe, pristrent vitaille
Ainz^p ke cele des nés lor faille.^q
Donc véiffiez Engleiz foïr,
Bestes chacier, mezonz guerpîr ;
As cemetieres tot atraient,^r
Et encor là forment s'esmaient.^s
Un chevalier de la cuntrée
Oï la noïse è la criée
Ke païfant è vilain firent,
Ki la grant flote arriver virent ;
Bien congneut ke Normanz veneient,
E ke la terre avoir voleient.
En dreit un tertre s'arestut,
Ke alquanz d'els ne l'aparçut ;
Iloc s'estut, fi esgarda
Coment la grant flote ariva ;
Vit les archiers des nés issir,
Li chevaliers emprès venir ;
Vit carpentiers, vit lor coignies ;
Vit li grant ost è li maïfnies ;

This probably was done, and it may be all that was meant to be reported. The dismantling

Now 'tis not my intent all in order to tell,
Or recount each event as it chanc'd or befell.
Sometimes what last happen'd I first shall relate,
And later may tell what was prior in date.

It is known that the Duke, on the very first day,
His whole force assembl'd in battle array.
On that day, He marshall'd and arm'd all his Host,
But they kept to the Quarters they held on the Coast.
On Pevensey Castle they mov'd the next day,
Whence Horsemen and Scouts brought rich prize away.
They seiz'd on the clothing and seiz'd on the food,
The wants of those left at the Ships to make good.
On all sides the English fought safety in flight,
Drove their Cattle away, left their homes in affright.
A refuge they sought by the Tombs of the dead,⁶
Nor there did they cease to tremble with dread.

Then a Knight of the Land, who had heard the outcry
That was rais'd by the Serfs and the Peasantry ;
Who saw the great Fleet which was spread o'er the Sea,
And knew that the Normans on board it must be ;
Knew, too, of their greed the whole Land to possess,
Hid himself near the Shore in a hill-side recess ;
Whence, unseen himself, he could clearly spy out
What th' Armament come o'er the Sea was about.
First the Archers and Knights he beheld come ashore,
Then the Carpenters saw, with the Axes they bore.

of the ships, left under the protection of the fort, when going inland, seems a prudent precaution against surprise by Harold's fleet, as well as against any sudden fit of despair arising in the Norman army ; but their destruction would have been a rash step. From such dismantling may have arisen the report of destruction, which the chronicle of Battle Abbey, *MS. Cott. Dom. A. ii.* improves into actual burning. It would appear that they were soon refitted, and followed William's cautious course along the coast to Dover. The *Carmen de bello Hastingsensi* makes William rest five days at Hastings after the battle.

^p Avant que. ^q Leur manque. ^r Retirent. ^s S'inquiètent.

⁶ This use of the cemeteries is again mentioned by *Wace*, ii. 381. "As cimetièries tot atraient." See also *Ordericus Vit.* xi. 815.

L

Vit li mairriens des nés geter ;
 Vit li chastel fere è fermer ;^t
 Vit li fossé environ faire ;
 Vit les escuz et armes atraire.
 De quant k'il vit out grant pefance,^u
 S'espée ceint è prist sa lance ;
 Al Rei Heraut, ço dist, ireit,
 Ceste novele li direit.
 Atant^v se mist cil el chemin,
 Tart se colcha, leva matin ;
 Tant a erré ke noit ke jor
 Por Heraut querre son Seignor,
 Ultre le Humbre l'a trouvé ;
 En une vile aveit disné.
 Heraut demenout grant fierté ;
 Ultre le Humbre aveit esté,
 Tofti son frere aveit veincu ;
 Mult li esteit bien advenu.
 Frere Heraut esteit Tofti,
 Maiz par mal esteient desparti,^w
 Tofti aveit Heraut requis
 E fet requerre par amis,
 Quant si li esteit eschaeit,
 Fust tort, fust dreit, ke Reis esteit,
 Li fieu son pere li donast
 E la terre li otréast,
 Ke lor pere tint d'éritage.
 Ne quereit mie grant ultrage
 Et il fis hoem en devendreit
 Et à Seignor le congnoistreit,
 Et altretant^x l'en servireit
 Come il li reis Ewart faseit.
 Heraut ne li volt otréier
 Cele, doner ne eschangier.

Il le trouve au
 moment où il
 venait de vaincre
 Toftig.

Détails sur Toftig
 et la guerre qu'il
 avait suscitée.

He could reckon the number and strength of the Host,
 See the stores and materials thrown on the Coast;
 See them run up their Fort, and how they broke ground,
 And fenc'd it, by drawing a Trench all around;
 See the Shields and the masses of Arms of all kind,
 Quite enough to alarm and to trouble his mind.
 So he tighten'd his Sword-belt, and had his Lance brought,
 Then off with his tidings, and King Harold fought.
 Night and day did he travel, and took little rest,
 Till he met with his Seignor—the aim of his quest.
 In a Town beyond Humber The King had just din'd,⁷
 There the Knight had the fortune His Monarch to find.
 The King was elated at what had been done
 North of Humber,⁸ and proud of the fight He had won.
 There Tofti His Brother He vanquish'd, and there
 Abundant good fortune had fall'n to His share.

With Tofti His Brother The King had a feud,
 For Tofti made claim, and by friends his claim sued,
 (When Harold by right or by wrong got the Crown,)
 The Fief of Earl Godwin to hold as his own.
 To their Father those Lands by inheritance came.
 Should Harold confirm Tofti's right to the same,
 He fought nothing else, and His Liege-man would be,
 And aye truly serve Him, as Lord of the Fee.
 Nor less to His service should always feel bound,
 Than to Edward aforetime, he ever was found.
 But Harold refus'd Tofti's claim to accord,
 Or to make an equivalent grant, or award.

⁶ Et fortifier.

⁷ Sur-le-champ.

⁸ Nam ipso die consummata Victorix, cum apud Eboracum lætus pranderet.—*Hist. Remensis*, Cap. xx. WILLIAM OF MALMSBURY, Ed. Thomas Gale, Oxon, 1691.

⁹ Hæc pugna nonis Octobris in die sabbati facta est, in qua pene totus Northvigenorum exercitus ab Anglis cæsus est.—WILLIAM CALCULUS GEMMETICENSIS, *Monachi*—*Hist. Normannorum*, Lib. vii. p. 287.

¹⁰ De tout ce qu'il vit eut grand chagrin.

¹¹ Défunis.

¹² Autant.

Tofti, ki mult s'en coroça,
 En Danemarche trespaffa,^v
 Daneiz è Norreiz^z amena,
 Deverz Euroïc^a ariva.
 Heraut le sout, si s'en garni
 E chevalcha contre Tofti ;
 A son frere se cumbati,
 Sis meisnies è li veinqui ;
 Occiz fu Tofti verz Pontfrait,
 E mult altre mal i out fait.
 Heraut de Pontfrait repairout^b
 E forment se gloriout :
 Maiz fol est ki se glorie ;
 Toft est une joie faillie.
 Male novele est toft venue ;
 Toft pot morir ki altre tue ;
 Sovent contre son destorbier
 Se folt coer d'home esléecier.^c
 Heraut repairout liement^d
 E cunteneit mult fièrement,
 Quant un mès^e tel novele dist
 Ki en altre penser le mist.
 Eis vos li chevalier venu,
 Ki de Hastings fu méu :^f
 Normanz, dist-il, sunt arrivé,
 A Hastings sunt aresté ;
 La terre kudent for vos prendre,
 Se vos ne la poez desfendre ;
 Un chastel i ont fermé^g
 De bretesches è de fossé.
 Mult me pot, dist Heraut, peser
 Ke jo ne fu à l'arriver,
 Forment m'en est mésavenu.
 Mielx me venist avoir perdu

Nouvelles don-
 nées à Harold du
 débarquement
 des Normands.

Harold regrette
 de n'avoir pu
 s'opposer au dé-
 barquement de
 Guillaume.

To Denmark then Tofti repair'd, much enrag'd,
 And Northmen, and Danes, in his quarrel engag'd.
 They landed in Yorkshire, but Harold aware,
 Assembl'd a Force, and encounter'd them there.
 Near Pomfret the Battle was fought,⁹ and the Dane
 Was vanquish'd in Combat, and Tofti was slain.
 The loss of the Danes in the Conflict was great,
 And proud was The King of His Foeman's defeat.
 Triumphant from Pomfret He march'd with His Host,
 But unwise is He who of Fortune makes boast.
 Successes are fleeting ;—Ill travels apace ;
 And vanquish'd and Victors change fortunes and place.
 Oft hearts are elated and Spirits run high,
 When Death is impending,—or Ruin is nigh.

As southward then Harold with Pomp and Array,
 In the pride of His triumph, was wending His way,
 He met with this Messenger, who such news brought
 As at once put His mind in a new train of thought.

The Trav'ler from Hastings to Harold drew near,
 Ill tidings all ready to pour in His ear.
 " The Normans," he cry'd, " they be here in Thy Land !
 " Along shore at Hastings their forces now stand ;
 " This Realm from Thy rule 'tis their purpose to take,
 " Unless Thou art able their Forces to break.
 " They have built them a Fort upon our English ground,
 " Palisaded and fenc'd, with a Fosse all around."

" Wo is me," then said Harold, " and hard is our Lot,
 " That when William came, We were not on the Spot !

^y Paffa. ^z Norwégiens. ^a York. ^b S'en retournait.
^c Souvent le cœur de l'homme se réjouit au moment de sa ruine.
^d S'en revenait joyeusement. ^e Un messager.
^f Etait parti. ^g Fortifié.
⁹ Benoit says Tofti's expedition was concerted with William.

Quant ke Tofti out demandé,
 Ke jo n'éusse el port esté,
 Quant Willame vint el rivage;
 Bien defendisse li passage.
 Tant en féisse en mer plungier,
 E tant en féisse néier,
 Jà à la terre ne venissent,
 Jà nient del nostre ne préissent;
 Jà de morir garant n'éussent,
 Se la mer tote ne béussent;
 Maiz issi plout el Rei celestre,
 Jo ne poiz mie par tut estre.

Un baron du
 pays exprime à
 Guillaume ses
 craintes sur le
 succès de l'ex-
 pédition.

En la terre aveit un Baron,
 Maiz jo ne fai dire son non,
 Ki mult aveit li Dus amé,
 E se faseit de li privé;
 Ne se il péust ne volfist
 K'à Willame méfavenist.^h
 Cil li manda privéement
 Ke trop ert venu povrement;
 Poi aveit genz, ço li ert vis,ⁱ
 A fere ço k'aveit empris;^k
 Trop aveit gent en Engleterre,
 Et mult esteit fort à cunquerre.
 Par dreite fei li conseillout,
 E par bon amor li mandout
 Ke del paiz s'en retornast,
 Et en sa terre s'en ralaft
 Anceiz ke Heraut i venist:
 Dote aveit k'il li meschaït;^l
 Mult li pefereit, ço diseit,
 S'à Willame méfaveneit.

" 'Tis a heavy mischance ;—Far better, indeed,
 " Had We yielded to Tofti each jot of his greed ;
 " For if We, with our Forces, had stood on the Shore,
 " What time, in their Veffels, the Normans came o'er,
 " At landing they fuch a refiftance had found,
 " That but few of their Men should have fet foot to ground.
 " Or if they fcap'd drowning, and got fafe to Land,
 " Not a man of them all but had died by our hand.
 " Our goods, too, and Chattels in peace had been left,
 " Which may now by the hand of the Spoiler be reft.
 " But fo it feem'd good to the Lord to decide,
 " Ourfelf twixt two Places We could not divide."

In that part of England the Duke had a friend
 Who wifh'd well to his caufe, and did privily fend
 A Message of warning, (a Baron was he,
 But I know not his name.)¹ With grief should he fee
 Misadventure befall him, which he could avert,
 Or his fame or his fortunes meet damage or hurt.
 He told him the Army he brought with his Fleet
 Was unfit to cope with the Force they would meet.
 Of a Land fo well peopl'd the conquest to make,
 Was an effort none lightly should undertake.
 No better his faith to the Duke could he prove,
 Or counfel him better, in pledge of his love,
 Than to fhip his whole Force in his Veffels again,
 And Normandy's shores with all fpeed to regain ;
 If Harold should come, and the Duke fuffer harm,
 'Twould fill him with grief, as it did with alarm.

^b Arrivât mal.

ⁱ Il avait peu de monde, ce lui semblait.

^k Entrepris.

¹ Qu'il lui arrivât mal.

¹ According to *William of Poitiers*, he was a rich man of Norman origin, named Robert, fon of Guimare, a noble lady.

Confiance de
Guillaume dans
la valeur de son
armée.

Harold arrive à
Londres, et y
attend que son
armée soit ras-
semblée.

Message de
Guillaume à
Harold.

E li Dus manda briement,^m
K'il ne dotaft de li nient,ⁿ
Nule crieme^o de li n'euft,
Maiz bien creïft è bien féuft,
Se il n'aveit ke dis miliers
De fi nobles chevaliers,
Com il aveit seifante mil
U plus, fi se cumbatreit-il.
Jà ainz, ço dist, ne s'en ira,
Ke de Heraut ne se vengera.
Heraut vint à Lundres puignant,^p
De totes parz Engleiz mandant,
Ke tuit viengent delivrement^q
E mult apareilliement
El terme k'il lor out mandé,
Sainz esfoigne forz d'enferté.^r
Semprez^s euft li Dus requis
E de cumbatre jor affis,
Maiz il mandout et atendeit
Sun grant barnage ki vendreit ;
Cil vindrent hastivement
Ki oïrent li mandement.
Li Dus oï dire asez toft
Ke Heraut assemblout grant oft ;^t
A Lundres ert venu del nort,
Tofti fis frere i aveit mort.^u
Huon Margot a demandé,
De Fescam moigne coroné ;
Por ço k'il ert bien enseigniez,
Bien cognéu è bien préisiez,^v
L'a li Dus à Heraut tramis,^w
E Margot al chemin s'est mis.

^m Brièvement.

ⁿ Rien, néant.

^o Crainte.

The Duke answer'd briefly, no fear did he feel,
 Nor need his friends have any doubt of his weal ;
 Yet he wish'd him to know, and think it well o'er,
 That if stead of Sixty odd thousand and more
 Who follow'd his Banner, his thousands were ten,
 Of Knights such as his, and of such gallant Men,
 He would never retreat till his quarrel was fought,
 And Harold the weight of his vengeance was taught.

In hot haste to London did Harold repair,
 And fummon'd His People to meet with Him there.
 All Men of the Land must that fummons obey,
 And come at fix'd term, ready arm'd, in array.
 The sick and the cripples alone were excus'd,
 All pretexts for shunning the muster, refus'd.
 He had challeng'd the Duke, and a day fix'd to fight,
 But His Barons ask'd time, to assemble their might ;
 Tho' soon as the fummons was known in the Land,
 Each hurriedly gather'd and came with his Band.

That Harold was getting together His Host
 Was soon told the Duke, where he lay on the Coast.
 He learnt how to London King Harold was come,
 How Tosti His Brother had met with his doom.
 So he call'd to his presence a good learned Man,
 Huon Margot² by name, a Monk of Fescamp ;
 One whose wisdom and worth to all made him dear,
 And him the Duke trusted a Mission to bear

¹ Galopant, piquant des deux.

² Sur-le-champ.

³ Sans excuse, excepté d'infirmité.

⁴ Auffitôt.

⁵ Grande armée.

⁶ Tué.

⁷ Estimé.

⁸ Envoyé.

⁹ *Wace* is the only authority who gives the name of this envoy. *William of Poitiers* merely says he was a monk of Fécamp, without further description. The two embassies are described by him in a reversed order, and with different circumstances attending them.

A Lundres a Heraut trové,
 Et iffi a ad li parlé :
 Heraut; dist-il, entend à mei,
 Messagier fuis, oï de kei :
 Li Dus te mand è jel' te di^x
 Ke trop toft as mis en obli
 Le serement ke tu jadis
 En Normendie li féis ;
 Falsé li as li serement ;
 Radrece t'en, è fi li rent
 La corogne et la feignorie
 Ke tu n'as pas d'ancefforie ;^y
 Tu n'es pas rei par éritage,
 Ne par home de ton lignage.
 Li reis Ewart en fa fanté
 Et en fa libre poesté^z
 Dona fa terre è son réalme
 A fon meillor parent Willealme ;
 Tel don li fist com fere pout,
 Come al meillor home k'il out ;
 En fa fanté, devant fa mort,
 La li dona, fi l'en faiz tort,
 Ke tu loeis è graanta,^a
 Nel' desfendi, ainz li jura.
 Rens li fa terre, fais li dreit
 Ainz ke plus damage en feit.
 Ne poent tele gent asembler
 Com tu è li poez jofter
 Sanz grant damage è sanz grant perte,
 E ço iert de tote part deferte.^b
 Bien fai ke tel le comperront^c
 Ki nules capes^d n'i aront.
 Rent li fun regne ke tu as ;
 Se tu li tienz, mal tu aras.

Unto Harold ;—and Margot fet forth on his way,
And found Him at London, and thus did he say :—

“ To the words I shall utter, O Harold, give ear,
“ But know first, who sends Thee the message I bear ;
“ ’Tis the Duke,—who enjoins me to bring to Thy mind,
“ How soon Thou forgottest Thyself Thou didst bind
“ In Normandy, pledging Thy honor and troth,
“ And that now, Thou art false both to him and Thy oath.
“ Repair then Thy wrong, and restore him the Crown,
“ Which no right of heritage maketh Thine own.
“ This Kingdom by Royal descent is not Thine ;
“ For none of Thy Lineage can trace to that Line.
“ In the plenary use of His Own Sov’reign Will,
“ Pow’r vested in Edward, His wish to fulfil,
“ That His Realm and His Crown should to William descend,
“ As the best of His Kin, when His Own Life should end.
“ The Gift He bestow’d with full right so to do,
“ Conferring His Grace on the best Man He knew.
“ King Edward in Body and Mind too was found ;
“ If His Will prejudicial in aught can be found,
“ On Thee rests the blame, Who didst sanction His Deed,
“ Not protesting,—but swearing to make it succeed.
“ Do right, and restore him the Land Thou hast got,
“ Left mischief befall Thee, and ill be Thy Lot.
“ When rang’d ’gainst each other such mighty Hosts stand,
“ Devastation and ruin must spread o’er the Land.
“ For War’s costs and horrors infallibly fall
“ On the Land and its Denizens, stripp’d of their all.
“ Restore then His Kingdom, now owning Thy sway,
“ Or, mark well my words, Thou wilt aye rue this day !”

* Je te le dis.

† Par tes ancêtres.

‡ Puissance.

• Que tu approuva et consentit.

° Et il y aura dommage, destruction de tous les côtés.

° Le paieront.

° Chapes, robes.

Courroux de
Harold. On dé-
robe à sa fureur
l'envoyé de
Guillaume.

Harold envoie à
son tour un mes-
sage à Guil-
laume.

Heraut fu forment orguillos,
Co dist k'il out kalkes furos ;^e
Des paroles se coroga
Ke Margot fi le manaça ;
Bien creit ke il l'out laidi,
Maiz Guert fi frere fus failli,
Entre li Reis s'ala ester ;^f
Huon Margot s'en fist aler.
Cil s'en ala fainz congié prendre,
K'il n'i volt mie plus atendre,
Ne plus n'i dist, ne plus li fist,
Ne plus n'oï de quant k'il quist ;
Al Duc Guillaume reverti,^g
Si dist com Heraut l'out laidi.^h
Donc a Heraut pris un message
Ki de France fout li langage,
Al Duc Guillaume l'envéia,
Cel paroles li enchargia :
Dites al Duc ke jo li mantⁱ
K'il ne m'apelt de covenant,^k
Ne ne m'apelt de serement ;
Se jo li ait fet folement,
Se jo unkes rien li pramis,
Por ma délivrance le fis ;
Por mei délivrer li jurai,
Quant k'il me quist li otréai.^l
Ne me deit estre reprocé,
Quer nel' fist nient de mon graé ;
La force ert foe,^m fi cremeie,
Se sa volonté ne faseie,

• On dit qu'il eut quelques accès de fureur.

• Retourna.

ⁱ Que je lui mande.

^f S'alla placer.

^h L'a offensé.

^k Qu'il ne me somme point des conventions, du traité.

Now Harold was haughty, and had fits of pride,
Which some fay to madnefs were nearly allied ;
So when Huon Margot thus menacing fpoke,
His anger was kindled, His fury awoke.
Perchance Huon Margot to Earth he had fell'd,
But Gurth rufhing forward His Brother withheld ;
Himfelf 'twixt the Envoy and Harold he threw,
While Margot in hafte from The prefence withdrew.
So, without taking leave, to depart he was fain,
And neither fought audience of Harold again,
Or took fruitlefs fteps a reply to obtain.
But the Duke he inform'd how his miffion had fail'd,
And Harold's wild insults minutely detail'd.

Then Harold a Message bethought him to fend,
And He fought out a Man in view of that end,
Who knew the French language, and gave him in charge,
Thus to open His mind to William at large.

The Duke muft be told, that he reckon'd in vain,
On agreements or Oaths that by Harold were ta'en,
For if 'gainft all reafon engagements He made,
Thereupon, no appeal to His faith could be had.
To nought had He pledg'd Himfelf, fave when constrain'd,
And fearing His freedom fhould not be regain'd.
For the fake of His Liberty, only, He fwore,
And, had the Duke ask'd it, had done even more.
'Twas hard to reproach Him, and founded but ill
To caft in His teeth what He did 'gainft His will.
In the Duke's power was he, and fear'd to refufe
Any wifh that he form'd, or whate'er he might choofe ;

¹ Je lui accordai tout ce qu'il me demanda.

^m La force était fienne.

Ke jo jamaiz ne revertisse,ⁿ
 Et toz tems là remainfisse.^o
 E fe de rien mesfait li ai,
 Jo méisme m'en affoldrai.^p
 Maiz fe il velt de mon avoir,
 Je l'en donrai à mon poeir ;
 Totes fis nés li referai,
 E falvement l'en conduirai ;
 E fe il cel offre ne prent,
 Distes por veir,^a s'il tant m'atant,
 Ke famedi le requerrai,
 Et famedi me combatrai.
 Li messagier li Dus requist,
 De par li Reis Heraut li dist
 K'en fa terre s'en ralaft
 Et Engleterre délivraft
 E falvement l'en conduireit ;
 E s'il de son avoir voleit,
 Tant li donra or et argent,
 Tote en porra garnir fa gent.
 Li Dus Willame respondi :
 Del bien dire foe merci,
 Maiz jo ne fuis mie venuz
 En cest paiz od tant d'escuz
 Por sez esterlins receveir,
 Maiz por fa terre tote avoir,
 Iffi com il me le jura
 E come Ewart la me dona,
 Et m'en fist livrer en ostage
 Dui varletz^r de gentil lignage,
 L'un filz, l'autre nevo Guigne,
 Encor les ai en ma faifigne,
 Saifi en fuis è fi teindrai
 Si jo poiz tant ke dreit aurai.

Réponse de
 Guillaume.

Had He not so comply'd, well He knew, never more
 He had Normandy left, or beheld England's shore.
 If for aught He had done reparation was ow'd,
 Absolution from guilt, on Himself He bestow'd;
 But if the Duke coveted what He possess'd,
 He would strain ev'ry nerve to accord his request.
 His ships that were damag'd, refitted should be,
 And safe conduct given him over the Sea;
 But if these His offers the Duke set aside,
 Of a truth shall he see (if so long he abide),
 On Saturday morn, England's Host in array,
 And the fortune of War shall be tried on that Day.

So in King Harold's name, this His Envoy requir'd
 That the Force of the Duke should at once be retir'd;
 And that if England's Realm were reliev'd of his Host,
 Safe conduct was theirs till they reach'd their own Coast.
 If they coveted wealth, He'd give them to hold,
 Abundance of Silver, abundance of Gold,
 That ev'ry Man with Him, ere homeward they went,
 Such portion should have, as would make him content.

The Duke made reply,—“ For the fair words you spake
 “ Our thanks be return'd ;—but not for the fake
 “ Of changing Our crowns for your shillings We come,
 “ But to seize on this England, and make it Our Home.
 “ By Oaths which not Harold Himself can disown,
 “ By grant made by Edward to Us, of His Crown,
 “ Who the Son and the Nephew of Godwin gave o'er,
 “ As pledges, and Hostages, into Our Pow'r,
 “ Our right do We claim,—and till that We attain,
 “ Those Hostages still in Our keep will detain.”³

² Ne retournasse.

⁴ Demeurasse.

⁵ M'en absoudrai.

⁶ Pour vrai.

⁷ Deux jeunes gens.

³ Brompton, p. 194, says that William allowed Harold to take back with him to Eng-

Répartie de
l'envoyé.

Dunc respondi li messagiers :
 Sire, dist-il, tu nos forquiers,^a
 Tu forquiers mult à mon Seignor ;
 Tolir li voils pris^t et énor
 Ke li roves fon regne rendre,^u
 Come s'il ne l'osast desfendre.
 Tot est encor fain è haitiez,^v
 N'est encor nafrez ne empeiriez ;^w
 Ne il n'est grevez de guerre
 K'il te deie guerpier fa terre :
 N'est pas avenant ke fi tei plaist
 Ke il fun regne iffi te laist.
 Heraut ne te volt rien guerpier
 Ne tu ne li poz rien tolir ;
 Maiz por l'amor è por ta grace,
 E fainz crieme^x de ta manace,
 Te donra quant que tu voldras
 Or et argent, déniers è dras ;
 E fi t'en va en ta cuntrée,
 Ainz k'entre vos forde^y medlée.
 E se tu cest offre ne prenz,
 Ço faces tu, se tu l'atenz,
 Ke famedi en champ fera,
 Et famedi se combatra.
 Cel terme a li Dus otréié,
 E li message prist congié.
 Li Dus, quant cil s'en volt aler,
 Cheval è dras li fist doner.
 Li mès^z est à Heraut venuz,
 Si com il ert de nof vestuz ;
 Tot li a dit è tot mostre
 Quant ke li Dus li out doné,

L'envoyé prend
congé de Guil-
laume, qui lui
fait des présents.

land his cousin Haco, and promised to send Wilnoth his brother after him; this is at variance with the language Wace here makes William hold to Harold's messenger.

The Messenger answer'd,—“ Sire, that which you ask
 “ Would lay on my Signor too grievous a task ;
 “ Demanding that He should give way to your claim,
 “ You'd rob him at once both of honor and name !
 “ If He, like a Craven whom perils o'erwhelm,
 “ Dares venture no stroke in defence of His Realm ;
 “ With the hearts of His People still found and alert,
 “ And as yet unimpair'd in their Strength, and unhurt ;
 “ War's menace and pressure is not yet so great,
 “ That to you He should render His Realm and His State.
 “ Nor because England's Throne 'tis your pleasure to fill,
 “ Must He without fail bend His wish to your Will.
 “ Harold deems, that demands which he cannot accord,
 “ Are beyond both your reach and the reach of your Sword.
 “ But proffering fairly, on you He relies,
 “ And gives that to Love—which to threats He denies ;
 “ To yourself doth he leave it, to fix the amount
 “ Of Silver and Gold, which to you He shall count,
 “ Coin'd money and Garments,—if you from our Coast,
 “ Ere Conflict arise, will lead back your Host.
 “ But know,—if your Will sets these offers aside,
 “ That on Saturday morn, (if so long you abide,)
 “ Here Harold will range England's might in array,
 “ And fixes His wager of fight for that day.”

This challenge of Combat the Duke did accept,
 And then his task ended, the Envoy soon left.
 But when he prepar'd to set forth on his Road,
 Rich clothes, and a Horse, the Duke on him bestow'd.
 When in presence of Harold he stood, there he shew'd
 The Horse the Duke gave him, his Garments renew'd ;

• Tu nous surdemandes, tu nous demandes trop.

• Que tu lui demandes de rendre son royaume.

• Empiré.

• Crainte.

• S'élève.

• Estime, réputation.

• Et dispos.

• Le messager.

Les Anglais se
rassemblent à
Londres.

Gurth, frère
d'Harold, lui
propose de com-
battre Guillaume
à sa place, pen-
dant qu'il rava-
gera le pays.

E coment il l'out enoré
E quant k'il out vers li trové;
E Heraut mult se repentí
K'à Margot n'out fet altresi.^a
Dementres^b ke par messagiers,
E par clers è par Chevaliers,
Heraut et Willame parloent,
Engleiz à Londres s'assembloent.
Quant de Londres durent torner,
Si com je ai oï conter,
Un frere Heraut, Guert out non,
Mist son frere Heraut à raïson.
Bel frere, dist-il, remanez,^c
Maiz vos maïfnies^d me livrez;
En adventure me metrai,
A Willame me cumbatrai;
N'ai od li nule covenant^e
Par serement ne par fiance,
Ne jo ne fuis od li par fei,
Ne jo serement ne li dei.
Tel chose porreit advenir,
N'i estovreit plus colp ferir.^f
Jo criem,^g se vos vos combattez,
Ad ço ke vos vos perjurez,
Ke des perjures pris^h vos feit
E ke cil veinque ki a dreit.
Maiz se jo fuis veincu u pris,
Vos, se Dex plaist, ki ferez vis,ⁱ
Vos maïfnies rasemblerez,
E cumbatre vos i porrez,
U tel parole el Duc prendrez,
Ke vostre regne en paiz tendrez.

^a De même.

^b Pendant que.

^c Demeurez.

All the gifts he had gotten were duly display'd,
 And recital of all the Duke's courtesies made.
 Then Harold bethought him of Huon Margot,
 Sorely vex'd, He ill us'd him, tho' sent from His Foe.

Meantime, and while Clerks, Knights, and Messengers, took
 Words of parley like these, 'twixt The King and the Duke,
 At London the English were gath'ring ;—some say
 Gurth argu'd with Harold and thus did he pray :—

“ Fair Brother, if Thou wilt give me the command,
 “ Whilst Thou here in London dost take up Thy stand,
 “ The Fortune of War with the Duke I will try.⁴
 “ Unshackl'd by Bond or Engagement am I ;
 “ Duke William can put forth no claim to my troth,
 “ Or allege, that I ever was bound by an Oath.⁵
 “ Matters yet may so chance, that, without drawing Brand,
 “ We still may provide for the Peace of the Land.
 “ Much I fear that if Thou in Thy person engage,
 “ And tho' Thou art perjur'd, wilt still Battle wage,
 “ The curse of Thy falsehood, will bow down Thy might,
 “ And he will be Victor who fights in his Right.
 “ Now if I in the Combat am vanquish'd and ta'en,
 “ Whilst Thou (if God wills it), in Life dost remain,
 “ Reassembling Thy Forces, from near and from far,
 “ And attacking, again try the fortune of War ;
 “ You may so press the Duke, that he and his Band
 “ Will promise to leave Thee in Peace, in Thy Land.

^d Vos troupes.

^e Traité.

^f Il n'y aurait plus besoin de combattre.

^g Je crains.

^h Récompense.

ⁱ Vif.

⁴ This emulation between the brothers is also vouched by *Ordericus Vitalis*. *Gaimar* in one MS. calls Gurth, Gerard ; another MS. reads Gerd.

⁵ Nos omni juramento expediti ferrum pro patriâ sumemus : timendum ne si ipse decertes, vel fugam, vel mortem in eas.—*Anonym. Contin. of Bede*, p. 332.

Endementres^k ke là irai,
 Et as Normanz me cumbatrai,
 Alez par cest paiz, ardant^l
 Maizons è viles destruiant ;
 Pernez la robe è la vitaille,^m
 Pors et oeillesⁿ et aumaille,^o
 Ke Normanz vitaille ne truissent^p
 Ne nule rien donc vivre puissent.
 Fetes la vitaille esluingnier,
 Ke il ne truissent ke mengier,
 Si les porrez mult esmaier^q
 E faire ariere repairier ;^r
 Li Dus meisme s'en ira,
 Quant la vitaille li faldra.^s
 Heraut a dit ke non fera,
 Ne Guert el Duc fainz li n'ira,
 Ne fainz li ne cumbatra,
 Maisonz è viles n'en ardra,^t
 Ne fis homes ne robera.^u
 Coment, dist-il, dei-jo grever
 La gent ke jo dei gouverner ?
 Destruire ne grever ne dei
 La gent ki det garir^v foz mei.
 A cest cunseil tuit se teneient,
 Et iffi fere le voleient,
 Maiz Heraut fist son serement,
 Por Monstrier son grant hardement,^w
 Ke jà^x en champ sanz li n'iront,
 Ne sanz li ne se cumbatront.
 Por coart, ço dist, le teindreient
 E plusors li reprovereient,^y
 Ke fis boens amiz envéiout
 En lieu ù aler il n'osout.

Noble refus
d'Harold.

^k Pendant que.

^l Brûlant.

^m Les habillemens et les vivres.

" Let me then the Normans in battle engage,
 " And whilst in one quarter the Combat we wage,
 " Go—burn, and destroy,—the whole Land waste lay ;
 " Raze Houses and Towns, drive the People away,
 " Seize Stores and Provisions,—remove all the Kine,
 " And leave not one head or of Sheep, or of Swine.
 " Want of stores and of food will soon make itself felt,
 " And the force of our Foe must speedily melt ;
 " Duke William himself, to depart will find good,
 " When he finds in the Land default of all food."

But Harold rejected Gurth's counsel, and said,
 That by none but Himself, should His Forces be led.
 That unless He were present, no fight should be fought,
 Nor should House, or Town, to destruction be brought.
 " How could We," said He, " o'er this Land sorrow bring ?
 " Or ruin a People who own Us as King ?
 " We never will harry or injure a Land,
 " Which trusts both for Rule, and for Weal, to Our hand."

All those made aware of what Gurth did advise,
 With'd his counsels were follow'd, as prudent and wise ;
 So an Oath Harold took, fix'd purpose to shew,
 That none to the Battle without Him should go.
 By the name of a Coward, whom danger appall'd,
 Should He ever after,—and justly, be call'd,
 (As He said,)—if His friends should alone bear the brunt
 Of Perils, too great for Himself to confront !⁶

^a Brebis.

^o Vaches, taureaux, bœufs, veaux, génisses.

^p Ne trouvent.

^q Inquiéter.

^r Retourner.

^s Lui manquera.

^t Ne brûlera.

^u Ne dépouillera.

^v Prospérer.

^w Hardiesse.

^x Jamais.

^y Lui reprocheraient.

⁶ *Benoit* bears ample testimony to the personal qualifications of Harold :

Pros ert Heraut e virtuos,

E empernanz e corajoz :

N'estoveitpas en nule terre

Sos ciel meillor chevaler querre :

Harold part de
Londres, et va
s'établir dans
une enceinte
qu'il fait fortifier.

Les deux armées
passent la nuit
dans des craintes
réciproques de
surprise.

Au point du
jour, Harold et
son frère vont
reconnaître
l'ennemi.

Iffi est de Londres méuz,^z
K'il ne pout estre reteneuz.
Tant a fa gent avant menée,
Come gent ki alout armée,
K'il fist fun estandart drécier
Et fist fun gonfanon fichier,
Iloc tot dreit à l'Abéie
De la Bataille est establie ;
Ki en cel lieu le requerra,
Iloc, ço dist, se desfendra.
Heraut a li lieu esgardé,
Clöre l'a fet de boen fossé ;
De treiz parz leiffa treiz entrées
Ki à garder sunt comandées.
Normanz cele nuit se gaitierent,
E tote nuit armé veillierent ;
Tote nuit furent en suspeiz,^a
Kar dit lor fu ke li Engleiz
Cele nuit tresk'à els vendreient^b
E cele nuit les affaldreient.
Ço meïsmes les Engleiz cremeient
Ke Normanz la nuit les guerreient ;
Iffi unt tote nuit veillié,
Li uns por li altres gaitié.
El matin à l'aube apérant,^c
Ke l'en folt dire, à l'ajornant :^d
Munta Heraut è Guert od lui,
Noble vassal furent andui ;^e
Par els dui destriers sunt meu,
E de lor lices forz issu.
Ne meinent od els Chevalier,
Vaslet à pié ne eskuier ;
Né nul d'els n'a armes portée,
Forz fol escu, lance et espée :

Then moving from London, He marshall'd His Might ;
 Refolv'd in His purpose, and bent on the Fight ;
 Till He fix'd on a Spot, and His Standard bade raise,
 Where the Abbey of Battle now stands in our days.
 There halting His forces, He took up His stand,
 And said He would fight in defence of His Land.
 Then closely exploring and marking the Ground,
 A Space He enclos'd, with a Fosse all around.
 On three of its sides, three Entries were left,
 And these were well guarded, and carefully kept.

The Normans that night kept good watch and ward,
 All the Camp was in Arms, and they stood on their guard.
 For 'twas bruited abroad, that the English that night
 Would attack in the Darkness, and bring on the fight.
 The very same fear with the English prevail'd,
 Who deem'd they should be by the Normans assail'd.
 Thus in both of the Camps, that live-long night through,
 Each watch'd and observ'd what the other might do.
 In the grey of the Morn, which we call break of day,
 Rose Harold, and Gurth, from the Tents where they lay.
 To each noble Chieftain His War-horse was brought,
 And there in the gloaming, Their way forth they fought.
 They summon'd no Knight on their course to attend,
 Or Footman, or Squire, forth with Them to wend.
 With Buckler and Lance, and His Sword by His side,
 But no other weapon, did each of Them ride.

Beaus esteit trop, e beaus parlers,
 Donierre e larges viandiers.

His mother, according to the same authority, dissuaded him from the enterprise, equally with his brother ; who, besides the reasons urged in *Wace*, presses the army's need of repose after the late campaign.

^a Parti.

^a En soupçon.

^b Jusqu'à eux viendraient.

^c A l'aube apparaissant, au point du jour.

^d Au jour venant.

^e Tous deux.

Li Normanz voldrent forvéir,^f
 E li lieu ù erent^s faveir.
 Tant ont par els dui chevalchié,
 Et tant viré è tant espié,
 Ke d'une angarde^h ù ils s'esturent,
 Cels de l'ost virent ki près furent.
 Mult veient loges è foillies
 E tentes bien aparailies,
 E helberges è paveillons,
 E peuls drechiez è gonfanons;
 Mult oïrent chevaux hennir
 E virent armes reluisir.
 Grant pose unt iloc demoré
 Ke l'uns à l'autre n'a parlé.
 Ne fai ke fistrent ne ke distrent,
 Ne kel cunseil entre els dui pristrent;
 Maiz al partir ke cil faseient,
 K'à lor herberge reveneient,
 Parla Heraut primierement:
 Frère, dist-il, mult a ci gent,ⁱ
 Mult sunt Normant boen Chevalier
 E d'arme porter costumier;
 Ke me dites, ke me loez?^k
 De si grant gent com vos véez,
 Jo n'en os altre chose faire,
 Maiz à Lundres me voil retraire;^l
 Je voil à Lundres retorner,
 E graignur gent^m voil asembler.
 Heraut, dist Guert, malvez cuart!
 Cel cunseil est venu trop tart;
 N'i a nient de gopillier,ⁿ
 Avant vos estuet chevalchier.^o
 Malvez cuart, quant je vos dis,
 Et à vos baruns préier fis

Harold effrayé
 veut se retirer à
 Londres.

Son frère lui
 reproche sa
 lâcheté.

They would see in what manner, and where on the Coast,
 The Norman had posted, and marshall'd, his Host.
 So onward They rode, till They reach'd a Hill-side,
 Whence Host and Encampment they duly espy'd.
 Many Huts made of Boughs, and Pavilions They saw,
 And well order'd Tents, mix'd with Hovels of Straw.
 They saw Standards waving, and heard Horses neigh,
 Mark'd flashing of Arms in the Sun's Morning ray;
 There long did They tarry, without speaking word,
 Or if They held parley, I never have heard.
 But homeward at last They both rode on their way,
 When Their Tent They came near, Harold gan thus to say :—

“ 'Tis clear, Brother Gurth, and no man can deny,
 “ That strong is the Force of Our Enemy.
 “ Good Knights be these Normans, well skill'd in each use
 “ Of warfare :—What thinkest thou ?—Do not refuse
 “ Thy Counsel.—Our Judgment sees no better end,
 “ Than forthwith to London, Our way back to wend.
 “ Thither then to retreat, it is now Our intent,
 “ And there to take measures, Our Force to augment.”
 “ Base Coward,” cried Gurth, “ Brother Harold, thou art,
 “ Too late comes this counsel, which springs from faint heart;
 “ 'Tis Craven and bootless the Combat to fly,
 “ When forward—aye forward, should now be the cry !
 “ Base Coward ! Whom I and Thy Barons befought,
 “ In London to stay, while the Battle We fought.
 “ Our Pray'rs and our counsels were all set aside,
 “ So on Thee rests the blame, if ill Fortune betide.

^f Examiner, surveiller.

^h D'une hauteur où ils se placèrent.

^k Que me conseillez-vous ?

^m Plus grande gent.

^o Il vous faut marcher en avant.

^g Où ils étaient.

ⁱ Il y a ici beaucoup de monde.

^l Retirer.

ⁿ Il est inutile de faire le poltron.

Ke à Lundres remainfissiez^p
 Et cumbatre me leiffiez,
 Vos n'en volfistes nient faire,
 Si vos en pot venir contraire.
 Quant jel' vos dis, vos nel' volfistes,
 Ne mei ne altre n'en créistes;
 Or le volez, è jo nel' voil.
 Trop toft avez perdu l'orgoil;
 De ço ke vos avez véu,
 Avez le hardement^q perdu;
 Se vos arière retorniez,
 L'en direit ke vos fuiriez;
 Et se l'en vos véeit fuir,
 Ki porreit vostre gent tenir?
 E se une feiz desparteient,^r
 Jamez ne se rasemblereient.
 Heraut è Guert tant estriverent,^s
 Ke par parole se medlerent
 E ke Guert volt Heraut férir;
 Maiz Heraut point,^t cil fist faillir,
 E Guert a li Cheval féru,
 De très l'arçon prèz de l'esku;
 E s'il éust Heraut ateint,
 A terre toft l'éust empeint.^u
 Asez li a dit Guert folie
 E l'a repris de cuardie.^v
 As trez^w s'en alerent poignant,^x
 Maiz n'en tinrent nul semblant;
 Quant il vindrent entre la gent,
 N'orent entrels nul marement.^y
 Lewine fu matin levez,
 Frere Heraut emprez Guert nez,

Il pousse la colère jusqu'à vouloir le frapper.

On s'étonne de ne point trouver les deux frères dans leur tente.

^p Vous demeurassiez.

^q Le courage.

^r Se séparaient.

" When frankly I told thee what lay at my heart,
 " And when in my counsel, all others took part,
 " Our Pray'r was rejected ; Thy obstinate Pride
 " Would listen to nought, and our wishes denied.
 " Too soon Thy high purpose hath vanish'd We find,
 " And fear hath found way through Thine eyes, to Thy mind.
 " If now a retreat with Thy Host, Thou shouldst try,
 " 'Twill be said far and wide, that from danger we fly.
 " Or Who shall these Forces together retain,
 " If Thou take the way back to London again ?
 " This Army will never together more stand,
 " As an Army again, if dispers'd in the Land !"

Thus wrangled the Brothers, until They got warm,
 And glar'd at each other, as though They meant harm.
 Till Gurth struck at Harold,—but Harold dash'd on,
 The stroke dealt the Rider—the Horse fell upon,
 On his Croup near the Saddle,—it glanc'd from the Shield,
 Else Harold had surely been smote to the Field.
 Enough in his anger Gurth said, and to spare,
 But that name of Coward, was hardest to bear.

They spurr'd on their steeds as the Camp they drew near,
 Nor let trace of wrath in their faces appear :
 And when to their People they came,—in their mien
 No sign of their recent dispute could be seen.

Now Leofwin arising with dawn of the day,
 Through the Camp to the Tent of The King, took his way.
 Young Leofwin was brother to Harold and Gurth,
 And came next the latter, in order of birth.
 So he enter'd the Tent, and cast his eyes round,
 But nowhere his Brothers were there to be found.

° Disputèrent.

▼ Aux tentes.

† Pouffe en avant.

‡ Piquant des deux, galopant.

° Renversé.

▼ De lâcheté.

‡ Fâcherie.

El tref Heraut Lewine entra ;
 Quant fes dui freres ne truva
 Là ù il les leiffa le feir,
 Jamez nes' kuide revéir :
 En traïfun, dist-il, sunt pris,
 E livrez à lor anemis.
 Ceo kuide k'il soient tuez,
 Ou as Normanz soient livrez.
 Dunc véiffiez home afolé^a
 Braire è crier come desvé.^a
 E quant il fout ù il esteient,
 Ke li Normanz véir voleient,
 Entre li è sis cumpaingnons
 E li Contes è li Barons
 Sor lor destriers toft monterent
 E des herberges s'en tornerent.
 Eis vos^b li freres ki s'en vindrent,
 Et li Baron à mal lor tindrent
 Ke fi aloent folement
 Et fi tant déporvéement ;^c
 Iffi sunt as très repairiez^d
 Tuit de cumbatre aparailiez.
 Quant ils vindrent devant la gent,
 Vus les ont esbahis malement.
 Heraut envéia dous espies
 Por espier li cumpaignies,
 E kels barunz è kels armez
 Aweit li Dus od fei menez.
 Jà esteient à l'oft venu,
 Quant il furent aparchéu ;
 A Guillalme furent menez,
 Forment furent espoentez ;
 Maiz quant il fout ke il quéreient,^e
 E ke fez genz esmer^f debveient,

Ils reviennent
 au camp.

Harold envoie
 deux espions
 dans le camp de
 Guillaume.

Le duc leur
 donne toute forte
 de facilités pour

With preface of evil,—he thought that no more
He'd see them in life, and his heart was full fore.

“ By treason,” said he, “ have they surely been lost,
“ And basely betray'd to the Enemy's Host.”

Then like one demented, he rush'd from the Tent,
And his terror in shouts and loud outcry found vent.
But when he discover'd how forth they were bound,
Espial to make of the Enemy's ground,
He mounted on Horseback, and quickly prick'd on,
With Barons and Counts, by the way they had gone.
They soon met the brothers, and loudly declar'd
Their blame of the venture so recklessly dar'd,
Risk and profit ill balanc'd, to all of them seem'd,
And rash such attempt without Escort they deem'd.

Then back to the Camp they together repair'd,
And Horses and Arms for the Combat prepar'd.
But while onward marching the Normans to meet,
Harold thought His reconnaissance not yet complete.
So He chose out two Spies,⁷ whose task it should be
To spy out the strength of the Enemy.
And to give strict account of what Barons, what might,
Duke William had brought over Sea, for the fight.
The Camp they soon enter'd, but, ere they saw aught,
Were captur'd, and into the Duke's presence brought.
There trembling they stood, but the Duke made aware
What Mission they had, and why they came there,

^a Devenu fou.

^a Enragé.

^b Voilà.

^c Au dépourvu.

^d Et ainsi ils sont retournés aux tentes.

^e Ce qu'ils cherchaient.

^f Estimer, évaluer.

⁷ The spy's mistake is also told by *William of Malmesbury*. The Bayeux tapestry constantly represents the English with moustaches, and the Normans with none. The latter, however, soon adopted the fashion of flowing hair. In 1106, the bishop of Seez thought it necessary, in a sermon before Hen. I, to inveigh bitterly against the custom of wearing long hair and long toes, then assumed by the Normans.

l'accomplisse-
ment de leur
mission.

L'un d'eux prend
tous les Nor-
mands pour des
prêtres, parce
qu'ils ne portent
ni barbe ni
moustaches.

Harold le dé-
trompe.

Nouveau mes-
sage de Guil-
laume à Harold.

Par toz li très les fist mener,
E tot son ost lor fist monstrier,
Poiz les fist mult conréer.^s
Bien les fist paistre è abevrer,
Poiz les leffia quites aler,
Nes' volt laidir ne destorber.^b
Quant il vindrent à lor Seignor,
Del Duc distrent mult grant énor.
Un des Engleiz ki out véu
Li Normant toz rezⁱ è tondu,
Kuida ke tuit proveires^k féussent
E ke messes canter péussent ;
Kar tuit erent tonduz è rez,
Ne lor esteit guernon^l remez.
Cil dist à Heraut ke li Dus
Aveit od sei proveires plus
Ke Chevaliers ne altre gent :
De ço se merveillent forment
Ke tuit erent rez è tondu.
E Heraut li a respondu,
Ke ço sunt Chevaliers vaillanz,
Hardiz è proz^m è cumbatanz ;
N'unt mie barbe ne guernons,
Co dist Heraut, com nos avons.
Poiz a pris li Dus un message,
Un muigne enloçonnéⁿ è fage,
Bien conéu et enseigné ;
El Rei Heraut l'a enveié.
De treis chofes à choiz le mist,
E préist le kel k'il volfist :
U Engleterre li rendist
E fa fille à moillier^o préist,
U se mist al boen jugement
De l'Apostole è de fa gent,

Bade shew them all over the Camp, so they might
 See His force, and be able to judge it aright.
 Then courteously treated, well feasted, and fed,
 Free to go where they list, from the Camp they were led.
 Unscath'd in the presence of Harold they stood,
 And prais'd the Duke's usage, and said it was good.
 One of them, who mark'd how the Normans were shorn,
 And that Beard or Moustache, were by none of them worn,
 Thought the Warriors who had with the Norman Duke shipp'd,
 Were Priests, and Mass-chanters, so close were they clipp'd.
 So to Harold he said, there were more Priests by far,
 Than Knights, with the Duke, and Men fit for War.
 But Harold replied, that these Men without Beard,
 Were good Knights and brave, and in War to be fear'd.
 For that Beard and Moustache, signs of Manhood esteem'd
 By Saxons,—the Normans had never so deem'd.

Arrangement with Harold the Duke fought once more,
 And selected a Monk, a man of deep Lore,
 Whom he trusted as prudent in Speech and in Wit,
 And charg'd him to Harold⁸ three points to submit.
 Of the three any one Harold freely should choose :
 First, England to cede him,—Adèle to espouse ;
 Or the Pope and His counsel their cause should decide,
 Harold binding Himself by th' award to abide.
 Or that Harold with Him, single Combat should wage,⁹
 And Body to Body, in Conflict engage.

⁸ Soigner.^b Offenser, ni troubler.ⁱ Rafés.^k Prêtres.^l Il ne leur était point resté de moustaches.^m Preux.ⁿ Instruit.^o A femme.

⁸ Mifit Dux Willielmus tria proponens: ut vel regno cederet, vel sub eo regnaturus Regnum teneret—vel spectante utroque Exercitu rem inter se gladio ventilarent.—HIGDEN's *Polychronicon*, Lib. vii. p 286, Ed. Thomas Gale, Oxon, 1691.

⁹ *William of Poitiers* mentions only the last of these proposals, and says that it greatly alarmed Harold; on the same grounds, no doubt, as Gurth had urged, against a vassal's

Harold refuse
toutes les propo-
sitions du duc.

Entretien de
Guillaume avec
ses barons.

U fol cuntre li fol venist
E cors à cors se cumbatist,
E le kel d'eus l'autre occireit,
U ki vis veincre le porreit,
Tute Engleterre quite éust,
Ke l'autre gent mal n'en éust.
Heraut dist ke rien n'en fereit,
Ne covenant^p ne li teindreit,
N'en jugement ne se metreit,
Ne cors à cors cumbatreit.
Devant li jor de la bataille
K'ele debveit estre sainz fille,^q
Parla li Dus à son Barnage ;
Alkes^r lor dist de son corage,
Parler velt, ço dist, à Heraut,
Ki ço k'il deit avoir li faut ;^s
Par fa buche le velt femondre
E faveir k'il voldra respondre.
De perjure l'apellera
E de sa fei le femondra ;
E s'il ne s'en velt adrecier,^t
K'il ne s'en voil amiffier,^u
Demaneiz^v le defiera
Et al demain le cumbatra ;
E s'il acorder se voleit
E se cunseil li cunsenteit,
Ultre li Humbre, kan k'aveit^w
De verz Escosse, li donreit.
Iffi com li Dus out monstre,
Unt li Barunz dist è loé ;^x

coming into personal conflict with one to whom he was bound in fealty, especially when ratified by an oath ; notwithstanding an entirely fraudulent creation of the pledge in the first instance.



On him who the other should slay in the fight,
 Or as Victor compel him to yield to his might,
 England's Crown should devolve, as matter of right.
 Thus all risk and peril would be theirs alone,
 And no other Blood for their quarrel atone.
 But Harold set all the Duke's offers aside;
 Would neither by promise or Treaty abide,
 His cause to the Pope's arbitration remit,
 Or His rights to the chance of a Duel submit.

The day before that for the Battle had come,
 Which now seem'd as fix'd as the day of last Doom ;
 The Duke to His Barons appeal'd, and thus spake.
 Of his courage, he said, occasion he'd take,
 And to Harold's ownself make reproach, that He knew
 He had robb'd and despoil'd him, of what was his due.
 When he in his Person these grave charges laid,
 He should learn what Reply could by Harold be made.
 By His fealty pledg'd, he would challenge His troth,
 And appeal Him as being forsworn of His Oath.
 " Then, Sirs, if redress He refuses to give,
 " And with Us in friendship hereafter to live ;
 " On the spot will I offer Defiance to Fight,
 " And the morrow shall see Us contend for Our right.
 " But if Our demand should receive His assent,—
 " (Our Council confirming, and giving consent,)
 " We will grant Him the Lands to have and to hold,
 " Which Humber and Scotland betwixt them enfold."

Duke William's proposal seem'd good to his Lords,
 And all of them prais'd and approv'd of his words.

^p Accord, traité.

^s Lui ravit.

^v Sur-le-champ.

^q Sans manque.

^t Corriger.

^w Tout ce qu'il y avait.

^r Encore, aussi.

^u Accorder, devenir amis.

^x Conseillé.

E alkans li unt dit : Bel Sire,
 Une chose vos volon dire ;
 Se altre chose estre ne poet
 Ke se cumbatre nos estuet,^y
 Cumbaton nos délivrement,^z
 N'i ait mez nul porluingnement.^a
 Li demorier^b nos pot grever,
 N'avon mestier^c de demorer ;
 Li genz Heraut chefcun jor creissent,
 Tote jor viegnent et espeissent.^d
 E li Dus lor a dit por veir^e
 Ke n'i poent mez respit^f avoir.
 Un vintiesme de Chevaliers
 A fet monter for lor destriers,
 Tuit orent ceintes les espées ;
 Les altres armes unt portées
 Escuiers ki od els alerent.
 Cent Chevaliers emprez munterent,
 Ki emprez li vint^g chevalchierent,
 Maiz nient trop nes' aprochierent.
 Mil Chevaliers refunt monté,
 Ki sunt emprez li chent alé ;
 Cil furent fi ke toz tems virent
 Ço ke li chent è li vint firent.
 A Heraut a li Dus mandé,
 Ne fai par moigne u par abé,
 K'il vienge as champs à li parler,
 Ne lui estuet nient doter ;^h
 Ki ke velt meintⁱ seurement,
 Si parlerunt d'acordement.
 Guert n'a mie tant attendu
 Ke Heraut éust respondu ;
 Ne soffri ke Heraut parlaft,
 Ne ke al Duc parler alaft.

Guillaume en-
 voie encore de-
 mander à Harold
 un entretien
 personnel.

Gurth, frère
 d'Harold, ré-
 pond négative-
 ment.

But some one observ'd,—“ We intreat thee, fair Sire,
 “ That thou in one point wilt accord our desire,—
 “ If so be our resolve is made up for the Fight,
 “ Let day for the Combat be settled outright.
 “ That no more delay or adjournment there be,
 “ Which doth us no good, and may bring injury.
 “ No profit to us can accrue from delay,
 “ Whilst Harold grows stronger in force day by day.”

So the Duke gave assurance, and pledg'd them his word,
 That no longer respite from fight he'd afford.

Then to mount their War-horses he summon'd a score
 Of Knights with Swords girded, whilst other arms bore
 Their Squires in attendance.—And near them, again,
 A hundred more Horsemen advanc'd on the Plain.
 These kept at good distance;—whilst more in the rear,
 A thousand Knights rode, but they came not too near;
 Maintaining their Columns behind the Advance,
 Just so as to spy out whatever might chance.

Then a Monk or an Abbot, (I know not which,) took
 A Message to Harold, from William the Duke.
 He ask'd him to meet in the field, then and there,
 For purpose of Parley;—to come without fear.
 Let Harold bring with Him whomever He would,
 The Duke fought to come to accord if he could.

But Gurth, who was present, sprang up from his seat,
 Resolv'd that his Brother the Duke should not meet;
 And speaking ere Harold could frame a reply,
 He answer'd the Messenger hurriedly:—

^y Nous faut, nous convient.

^b Le retard.

^c Pour vrai.

^d Ne lui faut rien craindre.

^e Promptement.

^f Besoin.

^g Délai.

^h Mène.

ⁱ Aucun délai.

^j Epaisissent, augmentent.

^k Les vingt.

Harold envoie
savoir les pro-
positions de
Guillaume.

Guillaume in-
forme les An-
glais de l'excom-
munication lan-
cée contre les
partisans d'Ha-
rold.

En piez failli delivrement :^k
 Heraut, dist, n'ira nient ;^l
 A vostre Seignor distes tant
 Ke ço k'il velt dire nos mant,^m
 Ke prendreit è ke nos lairreit,
 Kel concorde fere voldreit.
 Dementrezⁿ ke cil retornerent,
 Ki la parole el Duc porterent,
 Manda Heraut sez cumpaingnons
 E fes Contes toz par lor nons
 Por oïr ke li Dus direit,
 E kel parole mandereit :
 E li Dus à Heraut manda,
 Se fon covenant li teneit,
 Northonblonde tut li donreit,^o
 E kank^p ultre le Humbre aureit,
 Ki à cel regne aparteneit ;
 E poiz donreit à Guert fon frere
 La terre Gwigne lor pere.
 E se de ço cure^q n'aveit,
 De perjure le semoneit,
 De sa fille k'il debveit prendre,
 E del regne k'il li dut rendre ;
 Del tut li a sa fei mentie,
 S'il ne s'adrefce, il le desfie.^r
 E si facent Engleiz de veir,^s
 A tuz le velt fere faveir,
 Ke cil sunt escumengié^t
 De l'Apostoile è del clergie,
 Ki cuntre li od Heraut viennent
 Ki de cest ovre le meintienent.
 De cele escumengement^u
 Grondillierent Engleiz forment ;
 De l'escumenge ont grant poor

“ To the Parley and Meeting, King Harold faith nay.
 “ Let your Seignor transmit us the words he would say.
 “ Let us know what he'll leave us, and what he will take,
 “ And define in fet Terms what accord he will make.”

Whilst back to the Duke then the Messenger went,
 Who charg'd with his words had to Harold been sent,
 He summon'd His Counts and Companions by name,
 To list to the Message which from the Duke came.

These then were the words which were sent by the Duke :—
 If Harold would hold to the Oath which he took,
 Northumbria's Land should remain neath His sway,
 And the Realm north of Humber,—so much as there lay.
 All Lands which own'd Godwin of yore as their Chief,
 Should hereafter be held by his Son Gurth in Fief.
 But if these conditions King Harold refus'd,
 Appeal'd on His Oath,—and of falsehood accus'd,
 In that the Duke's Daughter he would not accept,
 Or render the Crown, which He wrongfully kept,
 And hence, as a Man who was perjur'd, and lied,
 (If He gave not redress,) the Duke Him defy'd !
 Let the English moreover this warning receive,
 Which to all was proclaim'd—and which all should believe,
 That the Ban of the Pope and His Clergy, was set
 Upon Harold, and all who His Cause should abet.
 All rites of the Church would to those be deny'd,
 Who Harold supported, or fought on His side.

These threats of the Church fill'd the English with dread,
 Apprehensions and murmurings through the Camp spread,
 They fear'd, too, the Fight, and on every side
 Groups form'd, and debated on what should betide.

^k Se leva promptement.

ⁿ Pendant que.

^p Et tout ce que.

^s Pour vrai.

^l N'ira point.

^o Il lui donnerait tout le Northumberland.

^q Souci.

^t Excommuniés.

^m Nous mande.

^r S'il ne s'en corrige, il le défie.

^u De cette excommunication.

Gurth cherche à
les rassurer et à
les exciter contre
Guillaume.

E de la bataille graignor.^v
 Mult les oïffiez grondillier,^v
 Li uns as altres cunseillier ;
 N'i out tant proz ki ne volüst
 Ke la bataille remainüst.^x
 Seignors, dist Guert, bien fai è vei
 Ke mult estes en grant esfrei ;
 De la bataille vos dotez,^y
 E la concorde desirez,
 Et jo la desire ensement,^z
 Veir mult plus el mien escient ;^a
 Maiz jo criem Willame forment,
 Ki mult est plain d'engignement.^b
 Vos avez oï k'il a dit,
 Com il vos velt metre à petit ;
 De la terre ke il ne n'a
 Nos dorra tant com li plaira.
 Se nos ço k'il offre pernon
 Et ultre le Humbre passon,
 Encor nos metra il avant,^c
 Ne nos en lairra mie tant.
 Toz tems nos forvéïffiera,^d
 Et à nient nos en metra.
 Quant il iert de tut el defus,^e
 E de la terre ara li plus,
 Petit nos en lairra tenir,
 Ke il nos kuide tot tolir :
 De grant terre à povre partie
 Nos kuide metre par voisdie,^f
 La terre voldra avoir tote.
 Encor i ai un altre dote,
 Dunc m'est por vos plus ke por mei,
 Kar jo bien me garrai,^g ço crei :
 Totes vos terres a donées

There were none so brave, but within them they thought,
 'Twere better the Battle should never be fought.

Then Gurth thus address'd them,—“ I see that ye fear,
 “ And are full of doubts as Battle draws near.
 “ The combat ye dread, and would seek an accord,
 “ Nor less would I shun an appeal to the Sword;
 “ Nay, no man so much,—but of William beware,
 “ As scheming our faith by his Craft to ensnare.
 “ In his mind 'tis clear We are lightly esteem'd,
 “ Or grant such as this he could never have schem'd!
 “ He would give us, forsooth, just so much of a Land
 “ As he pleaseth,—which yet is not sway'd by his hand!
 “ And take we his offer, and Humber pass o'er,
 “ We still must retreat, and fall back more and more.
 “ Brief respite obtaining, o'erwatch'd and controll'd,
 “ Ere long he would rob us of what he hath dol'd.
 “ When nought any longer his Power restrains,
 “ And the most and the best of the Realm he obtains,
 “ Not long should we be of our little possess'd,
 “ If his Will inclin'd him that little to wrest.
 “ Broad lands here be ours, while lands of small worth
 “ He guilefully tenders us, there in the North;
 “ And clear 'tis to me, as the Sun at noon day,
 “ That he aims at reducing the whole to his sway.
 “ Other doubts have I still, but the most for your sake,
 “ Since I for myself fair conditions can make.
 “ He hath given and granted Largeesse of your Land,
 “ To the Knights and Adventurers forming his Band,

^v Encore plus grande.

^y Vous avez peur.

^b De tromperie.

^c Quand il sera au-dessus de tout.

^w Murmurer.

^x Pareillement.

^c Plus loin.

^f Par tromperie.

^x N'eût pas lieu.

^a A mon idée.

^d Nous surveillera.

^e Me garantirai.

A Chevaliers d'altres cuntrées ;
 N'i a ne Conte ne Baron
 A ki il n'ait doné grant don ;
 N'i a conté ne baronie,
 Ne chafstel ne chafstellenie,
 Ke Guillame n'ait tot doné.
 E fi vos di por vérité,
 K'il a pris de plusurs homages
 Por lor doner vos éritages.
 De vos terres vos chaceront,
 Et pis iert vos occiront ;^h
 Vos maifnies effilleront,ⁱ
 E filz è filles destruiront.
 Ne vienent pas por vos aveirs,
 Maiz por gaster vos è vos eirs :
 Desfendez vos è vos enfanz
 E vos altres apartenanz.
 Unkes mon frere ne dona,
 Ne à doner ne comanda,
 Li granz fieus^k ne li granz éhors,
 Ne li terres as anceffors ;
 Maiz se li conte, conte fuffent
 E li Baron lor dreit éuffent,
 Et li filz éuffent lor lieus
 Et emprez lor peres lor fieus,
 Ço faciez vos, jo n'en parlasse,
 Ne jà la paiz ne trestornasse :^l
 Iffi la péuffom sofrir,
 E mielx féist à consentir.
 Maiz se vos perdez vos maifonz
 Et vos altres pofeffionz
 E vos maneirs è vos porpris,^m
 U vos fustes norriz toz dis,ⁿ
 Ke deviendreiz è ke fereiz ?

" No Baron or Count in his service bears Lance,
 " But hath had some pledge of rich gifts in advance.
 " There is not a County, or Lordship, or Tow'r,
 " That is held with the rights of a Castellan's pow'r,
 " Of which a dotation the Duke hath not made,
 " And for them already the homage been paid.
 " Of surety, the men who have gotten your Land,
 " Will drive out the holders, and rule with strong hand;
 " Nay more,—not contented with driving away,
 " Yourself, and your Vassals, and Children they'll slay.
 " Their greed is not bounded by all you are worth,
 " But you and your Lineage they'll sweep from the Earth.
 " Defend, then, your rights, and your Children defend,
 " For all on your courage and vigour depend.
 " Ye know that my Brother ne'er sanction'd or gave
 " The holding of Fiefs, or the honors ye have,
 " Unless they were held by ancestral descent;
 " And out of due course never heritage went:
 " That Counts are still Counts, and that Barons do still,
 " As Barons, the stations their Fathers had fill.
 " While Sons to their Fathers succeeding, aye hold
 " The Fiefs and the Places their Sires had of old,
 " Ye know, too,—nor needs it by me be observ'd—
 " The Peace of the Land hath been strictly preserv'd.
 " Say then, if ye deem it not better by far,
 " Such a State to uphold, and remain as we are?
 " For what will your lot be, and what your distress,
 " When robb'd of your Homes, and of all ye possess?
 " When Foes take your Manors, and spoil the Demesnes,
 " Which supply'd all your wants, what fate then remains?

^b Et, ce qui fera pis, ils vous tueront.

^c Les grand fiefs.

^m Clos autour du manoir.

ⁱ Pilleront.

^l Ne détournasse.

ⁿ Tous les jours.

Les Anglais se
rassurent, et ne
pensent plus
qu'au combat.

En kel terre vos enfuirez ?
Et ke deviendront li enfant,
Fames è fiz, petis è grant ?
En quel terre iront mendiant,
E quele terre iront querant ?
E quant issi perdent la lor,
Cument querrez altrui enor ?
Par ces paroles ke Guert dist
E par altres ke dire fist,
E par ço ke Heraut diseit
Ke as Barons lor fieus creifstreit,
Et as altres plus prameteit,
Ke il jà doner ne porreit,
Oïffiez Engleiz estormir^o
E Dex jurer et aramir^p
Ke mar^q i sunt Normanz venu,
Folement se sunt embatu.
Cil ki ainz la paiz desiroent,
E ki la bataille dotoent
Pristrent en els grant hardement,
E de cumbatre orent talent.^r
Guert out fi li cunseil troblé,
Ke puiz n'i out home escolté
Ki de fere paiz ait parlé,
Ki des plus riches n'ait malgré.^s
Li Dus è li foens plus n'i firent,
A lor herberges revertirent,^t

^o Se soulever.

^p Crier.

^q Mal à propos.

^r Envie.

^s Malgré, réprimande, reproche.

^t Retournèrent.

¹ *Benoit* follows the story that Harold had planned a surprise on William's army, and had sent another force round by sea to intercept his retreat.

La nuit que li ceus fu teniègres,
Soprendre quidout l'ost Normant
En la pointe del ajornant,

"What Land will ye flee to? and where refuge seek?
 "And what will become of the young and the weak?
 "Or where on this Earth can a shelter be fought
 "For Women and Children, to beggary brought?
 "To honour from others let no Man pretend,
 "Who fails in the duty *his own* to defend."

Such words did Gurth utter;—meanwhile others spake
 At his instigation, and like course would take.
 To His Barons large promises Harold too made,
 Their Fiefs should be vastly augmented, He said.
 To others, allurements of Fortune He shew'd,
 Which He with His means could have never bestow'd.

Thus the English were mov'd, and clamour'd and swore,
 The Normans in evil day touch'd on their Shore,
 And those ask'd for battle who fought Peace before.

The men who misdoubted, and fear'd for the fight,
 Felt courage rise high, and rely'd on their might.
 Gurth stirr'd all their Souls, and to such a pitch wrought,
 That no Man amongst them of Peace longer thought;
 Or durst any move in that sense and behoof,
 He had met from his Chiefs the sternest reproof.¹

The Duke fought no longer to treat on that day,
 But return'd to his Camp, without more delay;

Si qu'el champ out ses gens armées
 E ses batailles devisées :
 Enz la mer out fait genz entrer
 Por ceus prendre, por ceus garder
 Qui de la bataille fuireient,
 E qui as nefz revertireient.
 Treis cenx en i orent e plus.
 Dès ore ne quident que li dux
 Lor puisse eschaper, ne seit pris,
 Ou en la grant bataille occis.

Préparatifs de la
bataille.

Les Anglais
passent la nuit
en festins et en
orgies.

Les Normands
l'emploient à
prier et à se con-
fesser.

Tuit asséur è tuit certain
D'aveir la bataille à demain.
Dunc véïffiez hanstes^u drecier,
Haubers è helmes afaitier,^v
Estrieus è feles atorner,
Couires^w emplir, ars encorder,
Eïffi tot apareillier
Ke à cumbatre aveit mestier.^x
Quant la bataille dut joster,
La nuit avant, ço oï conter,
Furent Engleiz forment haitiez,^y
Mult riant è mult enveïffiez;^z
Tote nuit mangierent è burent,
Unkes la nuit el lit ne jurent.^a
Mult les véïffiez demener,
Treper,^b è saillir è chanter;
Bublie crient è *weïffel*
E laticome è *drincheheil*,
Drinc Hindrewart è *Drintome*,
Drinc Helf è *drinc Tome*.
Eïffi se contindrent Engleiz,
E li Normanz è li Franceiz
Tote nuit firent oreïfons,
E furent en aflicions.

^u Manches de lances.

^v Préparer.

^w Carquois.

^x Besoin.

^y Joyeux.

^z Réjouis.

^a Ne se couchèrent.

^b Gambader.

^a Angli ut accepimus totam noctem infomnem cantibus, potibus ducentes, mane incunctantes in hostem procedunt, pedites omnes.—*Continuation of Bede*—(anonymous), p. 332, *Ed. Heidelberg*, 1587.

^z In the appendix to M. Raynouard's observations on Wace, some suggestions are given from high English authority; but they throw very little light upon the real meaning of Wace's words. *Robert de Brunne*, in Vortigern and Rowena, makes Rowena give this explanation of the Saxon custom:—

This is ther custum and ther gest
Whan thei are at the ale or fest;

Well affur'd was he now, and convinc'd in his mind,
 On the morrow their Hosts would in Battle be join'd.
 Then the staves of their Lances they 'gan to prepare,
 Their Helmets and Hauberks to fit and repair ;
 The Saddles were fitted, the Stirrups well tried,
 Bows strung, and the Quivers with Arrows supply'd.
 Ev'ry Man of that Host, where it lay near the Strand,
 Got Harnefs and Weapons all ready to hand.

On Eve of the Battle, as I have heard tell,
 The English² held Waffail, and feasted them well ;
 Carousing and drinking through all the Night long,
 Their whole Camp re-echo'd to riot and Song.

" Drink home, boys !" they sang ; " He his stoup who shall toom
 " Goes ruthless to Combat, nor fears stroke of Doom.
 " Drink home ! and find Courage, ye faintest of heart,
 " To face the Sword's edge, or the point of the Dart.
 " Drink home ! for if this be the last Cup we drain,
 " We revel in Death, if to-morrow we're slain."³

In the impossibility of here rendering Wace's phraseology, these lines are substituted.

Thus feasting, the English that night wore away,
 Whilst Normans and French, till the morning grew grey,
 With Priests and with Friars deep Orifons said,

Ilk man that loves where him think
 Sall say *waffail*, and to him drink.
 He that bids fall say *waffail* ;
 The tother fall say again *drinkbail* ;
 That said *waffail* drinkes of the cup,
 Kiffand his felow he gives it up ;
Drinkbail, he says, and drinkes thereof,
 Kiffand him in bord and skof.
 The king said, as the knight gan ken,
Drinkbail, smiland on Rouwen ;
 Rouwen drank as hire list,
 And gave the king, fine him kift.
 Ther was the first waffail in dede,
 And that first of fame gede ;
 Of that waffail men told grete tale, &c.

Vœu des Normands.

Les évêques de Coutances et de Bayeux président à ces actes de piété.

De lor péchiez confez se firent,
 As proveires les regéhirent,^c
 E ki n'en out proveires prez,
 A son veizin se fist confez.
 Por ço ke famedi esteit,
 Ke la bataille estre debveit,
 Unt Normanz pramis è voé,
 Si com li cler l'orent loé,
 Ke à cet jor mez s'il veskeient,
 Char ne faunc^d ne maingereient.
 Giffrei, Evefke de Constances,
 A plusors joint lor penitances ;
 Cil reçut li confessions,
 E dona li bénéïçons.
 Cil de Baieues ensement,
 Ki se contint mult noblement ;
 Evefke fu de Baefin,
 Odes aveit nom, filz Herluin,
 Frere li Dus de par lor mere ;
 Granz esforz mena od son frere
 De Chevaliers è d'autre gent ;
 Manant^e fu mult d'or è d'argent.
 D'oitoure al quatorzieme di^f
 Fu la bataille ke jo vos di.
 Li proveires par lor chapeles,
 Ki esteient par l'ost noveles,
 Unt cele noit tote veillié,
 Dex reclamé è Dex préié.

^c Aux prêtres les accusèrent.

^e Possesseur, riche.

^d Chair ni sang.

^f Le quatorzième jour d'octobre.

^g JEFFERY DE MOUBRAY,—Molbraium in *Ordericus Vitalis*,—chief justiciary of England. See in Cotman's *Normandy*, vol. i. p. 111, details concerning the munificent spirit of this prelate ; and of the cathedral of Coutances, to the erection of which he dedicated his immense wealth. See also Ellis, *Domesday*, i. 400. The Moubray family at the

Confess'd them, bewail'd their offences, and pray'd.
 And who found no Priest his confession to take,
 Took care a clean breast to his Comrade to make.
 Many Normans made vows to their Priests, to refrain
 From ere eating flesh upon that day again,
 When the fight should be fought, (which on Saturday fell),
 If they 'scap'd from Battle alive, and all well.

The Bishop of Coutances, whose name was Giffrei,⁴
 With blessing, strict penance on many did lay,
 The like did brave Odo, the Duke's brother, do,
 Who held in the Vessin, the See of Bayeaux.
 He bore himself nobly; half Brother was he
 To the Duke, and he brought a great force over Sea.
 His Father was Herluin,⁵—thus by Mother's side,
 The Duke and himself were as Brothers allied.
 Great wealth he spent freely, Duke William to aid,
 Many Knights and much People his leading obey'd.

The fourteenth October, the day fix'd by fate,
 The Battle was fought which I have to relate.
 All night in their Chapels the Priests watch'd and pray'd,
 Which through the whole Camp, were for God's worship made,
 They vow'd fasts and penance, and till break of day,
 In Psalms and with Orisons ceas'd not to pray.

conquest consisted of the bishop, his brother Roger, whom we shall find noticed below, and a sister Amy, married to Roger d'Aubigny, or de Albini, ancestor of the earls of Arundel. Roger Moubray's son Robert succeeded to the bishop's estates, comprising, it is said, 280 manors in England, and he became earl of Northumberland. At his disgrace, not only his estates, but his wife passed to his cousin Nigel d'Aubigny, Amy's son, whose descendants took the name of Moubray. The site of the castle of Moubray is in the arrondissement of St. Lo. In the Norman Roll, red book of the Exchequer, we find, "Nigellus de Moubray 5 mil. de honore de Moubray, et de castro Gonteri: et ad servituum suum xi. mil. quart. et octav."

⁴ ODO, the bishop of Bayeux; son of Herluin, the knight who married Arlette, William's mother.

Junes font et afficions
 E lor privées oroifons ;
 Salmes dient è misereles,^s
 Letanies è kerieles ;
 Dex requierent è merci crient
 Patenostres è messes dient ;
 Li uns : *Spiritus Domini*,
 Li altres : *Salus populi*,
 Plusors : *Salve, sancte Parens*,
 Ki aparteneit à cel tens,
 Kar famedi cel jor esteit,
 A cel jor bien aparteneit.
 Quant li messes furent chantées,
 Ki bien matin furent finées,
 Tuit li Baron s'entr'afemlerent,
 El Duc vindrent, fi porparlerent
 Ke treis cunreis d'armes^h fereient,
 Et en treis lieus les assaldreient.
 En un tertre s'estutⁱ li Dus,
 De sa gent pout véir li plus ;
 Li Baron l'unt avironé,
 Hautement a à els parlé.
 Mult vos deis ; dist-il, toz amer,
 E mult me pois en vos fier ;
 Mult vos dei è voil mercier
 Ke por mei avez passé mer,
 Estes venu en cele terre.
 Ne vos en puiz, ço peize mei,
 Tel graces rendre com jo dei,
 Maiz quant jo porrai les rendrai,
 E ço aureiz ke jo aurai :
 Se jo cunquier, vos cunquerrez
 Se jo prens terre, vos l'aurez.
 Maiz jo di bien veraïement :

On convient de
 diviser l'armée
 en trois corps.

Discours du duc
 à ses barons.



There were Litanies chaunted, and Masses were said,
 Misereres inton'd for the living and dead.
 And as it was Saturday, God was ador'd
 In the Pray'rs for the day, and His mercy implor'd.
 Thus "*Spiritus Domini*," oft might you hear,
 Or the Chaunt "*Salus Populi*" smote on the ear :
 "*Salve, sancte Parens*," many full hearts began,
 To draw down a blessing from God upon man.

The Masses were ended, but not till the Night
 Gave way to the Morn, with the dawning of Light.
 The Barons then gath'ring repair'd to the Duke,
 And from him the Order of Battle they took.
 Into three sep'rate Corps his Army he brake,
 That Attack on three points they together should make.
 On a Hillock, Duke William then took his post,
 A Spot whence he saw greatest part of his Host.
 Then proudly he spake,—while his Barons around,
 Drank in ev'ry word, as they crowded the ground.

"Great love should I bear you, and 'tis but your due,
 "Proud too must I be of such Barons as you.
 "Deep thanks do I owe,—inasmuch as for me,
 "You have gather'd your Forces, and cross'd o'er the Sea.
 "You have come to this Land,—and the guerdon I owe,
 "Lies a weight at my heart, till thanks I can shew.
 "The will is not wanting, and what I obtain,
 "As prize of my venture,—shall be for your gain.
 "Should I be the Victor, my conquest you share,
 "As myself, (if the Land we should win,) will you fare.
 "Of a truth, must I tell you, that hither I came,
 "Not only to take what of right I can claim,
 "But to seek reparation from those of this Land,
 "And vengeance exact, by the strength of my hand.

^a Psaumes disent et *miserere*.

^b Trois corps d'armée.

ⁱ Se plaça.

Jo ne vins mie solement
 Por prendre ço ke jo demant,
 Maiz por vengier li félunies,
 Li traïfuns, li feiz menties,
 Ke li homes de cest païs
 Unt fet à notre gent toz dis.^k
 Mult unt fet mal à mes parenz ;
 Mult en unt fet à altres genz ;
 Par traïfun font kank'il font,^l
 Jà autrement mal ne feront.
 La nuit de feste Saint Briçun
 Firent horrible traïfun,
 Des Daneiz firent grant dolor,
 Toz les ocistrent en un jor.
 Ne kuid mie ke péchié fait
 D'ocire gent ki miex ne creit :
 Ensemle od els mengié aveient,
 Et en dormant les ocieient ;
 D'Alwered avez bien oï
 Come Guigne mult le traï :
 Salua li, poiz cil beïsa,
 Ensemle od li but è menga,
 Poiz le traï, prist è lia,
 E à felun Rei le livra,
 Ki en l'isle d'Eli le mist,
 Les oils li creva, puiz l'ocist.
 A Gedefort fist toz mener
 Cels de Normendie è diefmer ;^m
 E quant la diefme fu partie,
 Oez com faite félonie,
 Por ço ke trop grant li sembla,
 La diefme de rechief diefma.
 Teles felunies è plufors
 K'il unt fete à nos ancessorsⁿ

“ For Treafons and Felonies, Lies and bad Faith,
 “ Long practis’d on us, to our great lofs and Scaith.
 “ At their hands, fad evils my Kinsmen have felt,
 “ Like meafure to others, too oft have they dealt.
 “ Bafe Traitors they be, both in thought and in deed,
 “ By Treafon alone do they ever fucceed.
 “ A Deed of more infamy none could conceive,
 “ Than that which they did on St. Briçun his Eve,
 “ When the Danes in their fleep they ruthleffly flew;
 “ For ’twere hard any crime that is deeper to fhew,
 “ Than that thofe fhould be flain by a treach’rous affault,
 “ Who rely’d on their faith, and had eaten their Salt.
 “ Ye all know how Alfred was trait’roufly us’d,
 “ By Godwin,—and how his good faith he abus’d:
 “ Firft kifs’d and embrac’d, and invited to Meat,
 “ Then feiz’d on feloniously, bound hands and feet,
 “ To a King Who was Felon, furrend’red, and ta’en,
 “ And imprifon’d at Ely,—there blinded, and flain.
 “ By Him too, at Guildford that black deed was wrought,
 “ When Normans, his Pris’ners, He thither had brought,
 “ And becaufe decimation too many Men left,
 “ He the Tithe of that Tenth of exiftence bereft!
 “ Of crimes dark as thefe are they guilty, and more,
 “ ’Gainft our Forefathers done, in old days of yore.
 “ Our Friends, too, have fuffer’d by deeds fuch as thefe,
 “ Tho’ nobly they bore them;—fo now, if God please,
 “ Their wrongs We’ll avenge.—’Tis a task lightly done,
 “ And their Wealth and their Silver and Gold will be won.
 “ Their Manors fo rich, and with all things fupply’d,
 “ Will fall eafy Prey to the great Force I guide.

Harold I.

^k Tous le jours.^m Décimer.^l Tout ce qu’ils font, ils le font par trahifon.ⁿ A nos ancêtres.

Et à nos amis enſement,^o
 Ki ſe contindrent noblement,
 Se Dex plaift nos les vengeron,
 Et kant nos veincu les aron,
 Ke nos feron légièrement,
 Lor or aron è lor argent,
 E lor avoir donc plenté^p ont,
 E li maneirs ki riches font.
 En tot li mond n'a altretant^a
 De ſi fort gent ne ſi vaillant
 Come vos eſtes aſemblez;
 Vos eſtes toz vaſſals provez.
 E cil comencent à crier:
 Jà n'en verrez un coarder,^r
 Nus n'en a de morir poor,
 Se meſtier^s eſt por voſtre amor.
 Il lor répont: Les vos merciz,
 Por Dex, ne ſéiez eſbahiz,
 Ferez^t les bien al comencier;
 N'entendez mie à gaaingnier;
 Li gaain nos iert tot comun,
 A plenté en ara cheſcun;
 Vos ne porreiz mie garirⁿ
 Por eſtre en paiz ne por fuir;
 Jà Engleiz Normanz n'ameront,
 Ne jà Normanz n'eſparneront;
 Félonſ furent è félonſ font,
 Faus furent è faus feront.
 Ne fetes mie malvaiſtié,^v
 Kar ja n'aront de vos pitié.
 Ne li coart por bien fuir,
 Ne li hardi por bien ferir,
 N'en iert des Engleiz plus preifiez,^w
 Ne n'en fera plus eſparniez.

“ Never yet in this World did Host so combine,
 “ Vast numbers with worth of its Men, as doth mine.
 “ For there stands not a Soul in my fight, near or far,
 “ Who’s not a brave Vassal, and Man prov’d in War.”⁶

Then a shout of approval burst forth, and a cry,
 That for Love of the Duke they were ready to die.
 He should none Craven find, and till their last breath,
 They’d prove their Allegiance, and fight to the death!

He answer’d and said :—“ My thanks to you all ;
 “ For God and our right let your strokes heavy fall ;
 “ Your Onset be fearless,—put forth all your might,
 “ Nor stay to make Captives or Spoil in the Fight.
 “ For the Booty in common to all shall remain,
 “ And enough and to spare for us all, shall we gain.
 “ Let none think of Peace, or of flight from the Field,
 “ Not a spot offers Shelter or Safety to yield.
 “ No Norman hath Englishman’s love ever shar’d,
 “ Nor ever by them hath a Norman been spar’d.
 “ Base felons!—they merit the name they aye bore,
 “ False were they—and still are as false as of yore.
 “ Steel your hearts, nor one atom of mercy retain,
 “ For ne’er will their arms any pity restrain.
 “ They’ll smite down the Coward, who flies from the Fight,
 “ Not less than the Hero, who puts forth his might.
 “ Who thinks that the English will spare, does but dream,
 “ Him first will they slay, whom they most should esteem.

° Pareillement.

p Abondance.

q Autant.

r Faire le poltron.

s Si besoin.

t Frappez.

u Vous garantir.

v Mauvaise action.

w N’en sera des Anglais plus estimé.

⁶ *Henry of Huntingdon* puts quite a different speech into William’s mouth, reminding the Normans of their capture and detainer of the king of France, till he delivered Normandy to duke Richard, and (as the chronicler states) assented to the stipulation, that in conferences between the king and the duke, the latter should wear his sword, but the king not even a knife. *L’Esfoire de Saint Edward le rei* makes William use similar expressions, but on a different occasion, that of rallying his men.

Fuir poez jusk'à la mer,
 Vos ne poez avant aler ;^x
 N'i trovez ne nef ne pont,
 Et esturmans vos faldront ;^y
 Et Engleiz là vos ateindront,
 Ki à honte vos ociront.
 Plus vos morreiz en fuiant
 Ke ne fereiz en combatant ;
 Quant vos par fuie ne garreiz,^z
 Cumbatez vos è fi veincrez.
 Jo ne dot pas de la victoire,
 Venuz somes por avoir gloire ;
 La victoire est en notre main,
 Tuit en poez estre certain.
 A ço ke Willame diseit
 Et encor plus dire voleit,
 Vint Willame li filz Osber,
 Son cheval tot covert de fer.
 Sire, dist-il, trop demoron ;
 Armons nos tuit, alon, alon
 Iffi sunt as tentes alé,
 Al miex k'il poent se sunt armé.
 Li Dus fu mult en grant trepeil,^a
 Tuit perneient a li cunseil,
 Mult énorout toz li vassals,
 Mult donout armes è chevaux.
 Quant il s'apareilla d'armer,
 Sun boen haubert fist demander,
 Sor fez bras l'a uns hoem levé,
 Devant li Dus l'a aporté,
 Maiz al lever l'a trestourné^b
 Sainz k'il ne fist ço de sun gré :
 Sun chief a li Duz enz boté,^c
 Preuf l'aveit jà tot endoffé,

Guillaume, fils
d'Osbern, vient
avertir de s'ar-
mer.

Le duc met son
casque à rebours.

" To the Sea,—but no farther, in flight may ye reach,
 " For ye'll find not a Vessel or Bridge on the Beach.
 " No Sailors there wait, to secure a retreat,
 " And the English will slay you, in shame and defeat !
 " More fall who fly Battle, than fall in the Field,
 " In Fight ye may win,—but ye die if ye yield !
 " We came seeking Glory,—and fear have I none,
 " That Honour and Vict'ry our efforts will crown.
 " For conquest to those is already secur'd,
 " Whose faith in themselves, and their cause, is assur'd."

As the Duke to his Barons these words did address,
 Came William Fitz Osber, in haste through the Prefs,
 On his Steel-barded War-horse,⁷ and thus did he say :—

" Sire ! what do we wait for ? and why this delay ?
 " On ! on ! to the Fight !—let us arm, and array !"

Their Tents all fought quickly, and there ev'ry man,
 As best he was able, to arm him began.

By his Barons Duke William was fairly beset,
 While some fought his counsel, some orders would get.
 To his Vassals in need, Arms and Horses he spar'd,
 And all in his favour and courtesy shar'd.

When himself he would arm, his good hauberk he fought,
 Which a Servitor lifted, and to the Duke brought.
 As the Mail he uprais'd, on his person to don,
 He by chance turn'd it round, as he fitted it on ;
 His head pass'd the collar, before he found out
 That the back was in front, so he turn'd it about.

^x Aller plus loin.

^y Et les matelots vous manqueront.

^z Ne vous garantirez.

^a Embarras.

^b L'a tourné à contre-sens.

^c Fourré, bouté.

⁷ See the observations of M. Deville on this description, in *Mem. Ant. Norm.* v. 81. Such an equipment of a horse at so early a period has no other authority, and is probably an anachronism. But it may be observed that Wace's description at least shows that the practice was already in existence in his day, which we believe could not be otherwise proved.

Il n'en tire qu'un
bon présage.

Cels derriers^d a devant torné,
Arière l'a mult tost jeté ;
Cil en furent espoenté,
Ki li haubert unt esgardé.
Maint home, dist-il, ai véu :
Se iffi li fust avenu,
Jà hui maiz armes ne portast,
Ne en hui^e maiz en champ n'entraist,
Maiz unkes en fort ne créi
Ne ne creirai ; en Dex me fi,^f
Kar il fet d'el tot son pleisir,
E ço k'il velt fet avenir.
Unkes n'amai fortiféors,^g
Ne ne creï devinéors ;
A Dam le Deu tut me comant.
Chà mon haubert n'alez dotant ;
Li haubert ki fu tresturné,^h
E puiz me r'est à dreit doné
Senefie la tresturnéeⁱ
De la chose ki iert muée.^k
Li nom ki ert de duché
Verreiz de Duc en Rei torné ;
Reis ferai ki Duc ai esté,
N'en aiez mie altre pensé.
Dunc se signa, li haubert prist,
Beiffa fun chief, dedens le mist,
Laça fun helme è ceint s'espée,
Ke un varlet out aportée.
Sun boen cheval fist demander,
Ne poeit l'en meillor trover ;

Il monte sur son
cheval d'Es-
pagne.

^d Le derrière.

^g Sorciers.

^k Qui fera changée.

^e Aujourd'hui.

^h Mis à l'envers.

^f En Dieu je me fie.

ⁱ Le changement.

Tho' rapid the movement, he saw that those near
 Had mark'd it, and look'd on the omen with fear.
 So he said,—“ There be many, I know it full well,
 “ To whom if such chance in their arming befell,
 “ Would never this day in the Fight weapon wield,
 “ Or venture their lives to expose in the Field.
 “ But Omens like these shall I ever despise :
 “ On God and His pleasure my spirit relies.
 “ His will governs all things,—and Seers of Fate
 “ And Tellers of fortunes, at best do but prate.
 “ To God, and Our Lady, myself I commend,
 “ My Hauberk revers'd can no evil portend.—
 “ The Mail which I donn'd, with the back piece in front,
 “ But adjusted myself,—and shall wear as is wont,
 “ Imports something new from the Volume of Fate,
 “ And that change is about to be wrought in our state.
 “ For the rank of a Duke, which till now I have borne,
 “ The title of King, and the Crown will be worn.
 “ Yea ! doubt not that I whom as Duke ye obey,
 “ Henceforth in this Land as its King, shall bear sway !”⁸
 Then signing the Cross,—lowly bending, he plac'd
 His Mail on aright,—his Helmet he lac'd,
 He girded his Sword, which a Varlet had fought,
 And order'd his own noble Steed to be brought.

⁸ This circumstance is also told by *William of Poitiers*. In the *Estoire de Saint Edward le rei* the scene of the reversed hauberk is thus described :—

Li ducs, ki s'arma tost après,
 Sun hauberc endosse envers.
 Dist ki l'arma, “ Seit tort u dreit
 Verruns ke li ducs rois feit.”
 Li ducs, ki la raifun ot,
 Un petit surrist au mot,
 Dist, “ Ore feit a la devise
 Celui ki le mund justife !”

Li vicomte de
Thouars admire
sa belle tenue.

D'Espaingne li out envéié
Un Reis par mult grant amistié ;
Armes ne presse ne dotaft
Se fis Sires l'esperonast.
Galtier Giffart l'out amené,
Ki à Saint Jame avait esté,
Tendi sa main, li regnes^k prift,
Pié en estrieu, de suz s'asift ;
Li cheval poinft è porfailli,
Torna è point è s'esverti.^l
Li visquens de Toarz guarda^m
Coment li Dus armes porta ;
A sa gent a entor sei dit :
Hom mez si bel armé ne vit,ⁿ
Ki si gentement chevalchaft,
Ne ki si bel arme portaft,
N'à ki haubert si avenift,
Ne ki lance si bien brandift,
Ki en cheval si bien féift,^o
Ki si tornaft, ne si tenift.
Soz ciel tel chevalier n'en a,
Beau quens è beau rei fera ;
Cumbate sei, è si veincra ;
Tot feit honi ki li faldra.^p
Li Dus fist chevaux demander,
Plufors en fist très li^q mener,
Chescun out à l'arçon devant
Une espée bone pendant ;
E cil ki li chevaux menerent,
Lances acérées porterent.

^k Les rênes.

^l Se cabra.

^m Regarda.

ⁿ Jamais je ne vis si bel homme armé.

^o Se tint.

^p Qui lui manquera.

^q Près de lui.

Better Steed never came from the Pastures of Spain,
A King's gift, and given his friendship to gain.⁹
He fear'd not the crashing of Arms, or the Throng,
When the Spur of his Seignor had urg'd him along.
Walter Giffart had brought him, as whilome he went
To St. Jago in Spain,—by the Duke thither sent.

His foot fet in Stirrup,—his hand on the Mane,
The Duke sprang to Saddle, and drew in the Rein.
The good Horfe 'gan prancing, and pawing the ground,
And proud of his Rider, curvetted around.

The Viscount of Troarz mark'd well how he rode,
How, arm'd Cap-à-pied, he his Courser bestrode;
And he said to his men, that he never had seen
So gallant a Knight, or so warlike a mien.

“ Better Rider ne'er mounted a Horfe of pure race,
“ Or bore him in arms with so martial a grace,
“ No Warrior his Lance could so dext'rouly wield,
“ Or carry his hauberk so well in the Field.
“ There never was Horsfeman who had such a feat,
“ So adroit in manœuvre, and each daring feat.
“ Such a Knight, under Heav'n, did no man e'er see,
“ Fair Count is he now,—and fair King will he be!
“ Let him on to the Fight,—and win Victory's meed,
“ And accurs'd be all those who desert him at need !”

Led Horses to bring, then the Duke gave command,
And many were brought, which he kept near at hand.
At the bow of the Saddle of each, ready made,
And apt to the hand, there was hung a good blade;
While the Men who were trusted the Horses to lead,
All carried spare Lances, to serve him at need.

⁹ Sent perhaps on the occasion of the betrothment of William's daughter to the king of Galicia.

Division de l'armée en trois corps.

Le duc veut donner son étendard à porter à Raoul de Conches.

Celui-ci répond qu'il aime mieux combattre.

Dunc furent armé li Baron,
 Li Chevalier è li gueldon ;
 En treis compaignes se partirènt,^r
 E treiz compaignes d'armez firent.
 A chescune des treiz compaignes
 Out mult Seignors è chevetaignes,^s
 K'il ne féissent coardie
 Por perdre membre ne por vie.
 Li Dus apela un fervant,
 Son gonfanon fist traire avant,
 Ke li Pape li envéia,
 E cil le traist, cil le despleia :
 Li Dus le prist, fuz le dreça,
 Raol de Conches apela :
 Portez, dist-il, mon gonfanon,
 Ne vos voil fere se dreit non ;
 Par dreit è par anceïfforie^t
 Deivent estre de Normendie
 Vostre parent gonfanonier,
 Mult furent tuit boen Chevalier.
 Grant merci, dist Raol, aiez,
 Ke nostre dreit reconoïffiez ;
 Maiz li gonfanon, par ma fei,
 Ne fera hui porté par mei.
 Hui vos claim quite cest servise ;^u
 Si vos servirai d'autre guise,
 D'autre chose vos servirai ;
 En la bataille od vos irai,
 Et as Engleiz me combatrai
 Tant ke jo vis^v estre porrai ;
 Saciez ke ma main plus valdra
 Ke tels vint homes i aura.

^r Se divisèrent.

^s Capitaines.

Succession.

^u Aujourd'hui je vous prie de me tenir quitte de ce service.

^v Vivant.

Then the Barons and Knights, with their arms in their hands,
 And the Spearmen¹ array'd them in three² fev'ral Bands.
 All the Host was so order'd, in three to divide,
 And Seignors and Captains each Corps did preside,
 Who were charg'd with the duty to see and take care,
 That none should play coward, and limbs or lives spare.

Then by the Duke's order, a Servitor took
 And brought forth the Standard, the Pope gave the Duke.
 Unfurling the Banner, its folds he unwound ;
 The Duke took the Gonfalon—wav'd it around,
 And call'd Raol de Conches,³ to whom thus did he say :—
 “ Do thou, as of right, bear my Standard this day,
 “ 'Tis a right thou couldst claim, which I would not pass o'er.
 “ Ever Normandy's Banner thy Forefathers bore;
 “ And well did they merit that Standard to bear,
 “ For good and brave Knights ev'ry man of them were !”
 “ Many thanks,” answer'd Raol, “ for admitting our right,
 “ But this day no Standard I bear in the Fight ;
 “ By my faith, I claim quittance such service to yield !
 “ Other service I reckon is mine for this Field.
 “ With thee to this Combat my way will I wend,
 “ And whilst my life holds, with these English contend.
 “ Thou shalt see that my hand is worth twenty of those,
 “ Whose Arms in this Fight will our Onset oppose !”

¹ “ Gueldon” is Wace's word here and elsewhere ; which M. Pluquet interprets—a peasant armed with a long lance or pike.

² *Legiones militum in tribus ordinibus disposuit.*—WILL. CALCULI GEMMETICENSIS MONACHI, *Hist. Normannorum*, Lib. vii.

³ RALF DE CONCHES, in the arrondissement of Evreux,—sometimes called de Tony, or Toëny, which is in the commune of Gaillon, arrondissement of Louviers,—son of Roger de Tony, hereditary standard-bearer of Normandy. Ralf is a landholder in *Domesday* ; Saham-Tony in Norfolk still records the name. See Ellis, *Introduction to Domesday*, i. 493. In the Norman roll in the Red book of the Exchequer, we find, “ de honore de Conches et de Toeneio 44 mil. et 6 mil. quos Matheus de Clara tenet : preter hoc quod comes de Albamarâ, et comes Hugo Bigot, et Hugo de Mortuomari tenent de fœdo illo : ad servitium vero regis nesciunt quot.”

Gautier Giffart
fait la même
réponse.

E li Dus guarda d'autre part,^v
Si apela Galtier Giffart :
Cel gonfanon, dist-il, pernez,
En la bataille le portez.
Galtier Giffart li respondi :
Sire, dist-il, por Dex merci ;
Véiez mon chief blanc è chanu,^x
Empeirié sui de ma vertu,^y
Ma vertu m'est aféblée,
E m'aleine mult empéiriée.
L'enfuigne estuet à tel tenir,^z
Ki lonc travail poisse soffrir,
E jo ferai en la bataille ;
N'avez home ki mielx i vaille,
Tant i kuid ferir od m'espée,
Ke tot en iert ensanglantée.
Dunc^a dist li Dus, par grant fierté :
Seignors, par la resplendor Dé,
Vos me volez, ço crei, traïr,
Et à cel grant bufuing faillir.
Sire, dist Giffart, non feron ;
Jà mez ne feron traïson,
Nel' refus' mie par félonie,
Maiz jo ai grant chevalerie
De soldéiers^b è de mon fieü ;
Unkes mez jo n'out si bon lieu
De vos servir com jo ore^c ai.
Or se Dex plaist vos servirai ;

^v Et le duc regarda d'un autre côté.

^y Ma force est diminuée.

^a Alors.

^c Maintenant.

^d WALTER GIFFART, lord of Longueville, in the arrondissement of Dieppe, son of

^x Chauve.

^z Le drapeau convient à tenir.

^b De gens soldés.

Then the Duke looking round, Walter Giffart⁴ espy'd,
 Whom he call'd by his name, and bade come to his side.
 "Do thou take the Standard and bear it!" he cry'd.
 But Giffart made answer,—“For God's mercy, pray
 “Regard my bald head, and my locks ting'd with grey!
 “My breath I draw short,—and my strength yields to age;
 “This Banner to bear, only those should engage,
 “Whose youth and whose vigour, long struggles can wage.
 “I will join in the Combat,—and not a man there
 “Shall strive with more zeal in thy Service to share.
 “Whilst I can will I strike, and I doubt not to shew,
 “My Sword dy'd to hilt, in the blood of the Foe!”
 “By the splendour of God!”⁵ then the Duke fierc'ly said,
 “I must deem that by all is my service betray'd!
 “If there's peril, there's honour to gain by the Deed,
 “And I find not a man but who fails me at need!”
 “Not so, Sire,” said Giffart, “no Treason we do,
 “Nor from us shalt thou ever have Treason to rue.
 “No baseness inspir'd the refusal I gave,
 “But here a great Force of my People I have;
 “Many Knights, many Soldiers, and men of my Fief,
 “All looking to me, as their Leader and Chief.
 “Never yet such occasion to serve thee as now,
 “Have I found,—and, please God, I will serve thee enow!

Osbern de Bolbec, and Aveline his wife, sister of Gunnor, the wife of duke Richard I. In reference to the allusions in the text to Walter Giffart's age, M. Le Prevost observes that it was his son, a second of the name, who lived till 1102, having been made earl of Buckingham. See *Introd. Domesday*, vol. i. 484; also vol. ii. 23, as to an Osbern Giffart. In the Norman roll of the Red book, “De honore comitis Giffardi 98 mil. et dim. et quartam partem et 2 part. ad serv. com.” He is also among the knights holding of the church of Bayeux “1 mil.”

⁵ William's customary oath. Wace has before said, vol. ii. 51:—

Jura par la resplendor Dé,
 Co ert suvent sun serement.

L'étendard est remis à un chevalier du pays de Caux, nommé Touftain.

Premier corps d'armée, composé de Picards et de volontaires foldés.

Se mestier ert,^d por vos morreie,
 Por vostre cor, li mien metreie.
 En meie fei, ço dist li Dus,
 Jo vos amoe, or vos aim' plus;
 Se jo en puiz escaper vis,
 Mielx vos en fera mez toz dis.^e
 Dunc apela un Chevalier
 Ke mult aveit oï preifier,
 Tofteins filz Rou le Blanc out non,
 Al Bec en Caux aveit meifon;
 Li gonfanon li a livré
 E cil l'en a féu bon gré,
 Parfondement l'en a cliné,^f
 Volentiers l'a è bien porté.
 Encor en tienent quitement
 Lor éritage lor parent;
 Qitement en deivent avoir
 Lor éritages tuit ses éir.^g
 Willame fist for son destrier;^h
 Venir a fet avant Rogier
 Ke l'en dist de Montgomeri:
 Forment, dist-il, en vos me fi;ⁱ
 De cele part de là ireiz,
 De cele part les assaldreiz,^k
 E Guillame un feneschal,
 Li filz Osber un boen vassal,
 Ensemble od vos chevalchera
 Et ovec vos les assaldra.

^d Si befoin était.

^f Salué, remercié.

^h Guillaume était sur son cheval de bataille.

^k De ce côté vous les attaquerez.

^e TURSTINUS FILIUS ROLLONIS vexillum Normannorum portavit: *Orderic. Vit.* Several Normans bore the name of Touftain or Turstin as a baptismal name: but it afterwards

[•] Dorénavant tous les jours.

[•] Et tous ses héritiers.

ⁱ En vous je me fie.

“ If need be,—this day, Sire,—this Life that is mine,
 “ For yours shall be offer’d,—my Body for thine !”
 “ By my faith,” said the Duke, “ if I lov’d thee afore,
 “ Know well that from henceforth I love thee still more !
 “ And if on this day I escape from the strife,
 “ ’Twill be better for thee all the days of thy Life !”

Then the Duke summon’d forward a Knight of good fame,
 Toftain Fitz Rollo le Blanc⁶ was his name ;
 He dwelt in the Cauchois at Bec,⁷—and the Duke
 To him gave the Standard, which gladly he took.
 Low obeifance he made, as the Duke gave it o’er,
 With good heart, and bravely, that Standard he bore.
 His Lineage got quittance from service to pay
 On their Lands, for the service he rend’red that day.
 And still, and for ever, his Heirs for his Deed,
 A grant of free heritage hold, as their meed.

The Duke as he sat on his Steed, bade stand forth
 A Seignor well known as a Leader of worth ;
 Nam’d Roger Montgomeri.⁸ “ Thou on this fide,”
 Said the Duke, “ shalt make onset ;—in thee I confide.
 “ The Senefchal, William Fitz Oſber,⁹ ſhall back
 “ Thy movement, and with thee, direct the Attack.

became the family name of a noble house in upper Normandy ; who, in memory of the office performed at Haſtings, took for ſupporters of their arms, two angels, each bearing a banner. A. L. P. Turſtin Fitz-Rou received large eſtates in England. Beſides Turſtin there is a Robert Fitz-Rou in *Domeſday*, poſſibly his brother. See our ſubſequent note on Gilbert Creſpin and his family, to which Turſtin belonged ; and ſee *Introd. Domeſday*, i. 479, 497.

⁷ Bec-aux-Cauchois, in the arrondiffement of Ivetot ; not Bec-Creſpin, in that of Havre.

⁸ ROGER, ſon of Hugh de Montgomeri. He was lord of Montgomeri, in the arrondiffement of Liſieux ; of Alençon and of Bellesme, in right of his wife Mabel ; he became earl of Shrewsbury, of Chicheſter and Arundel, and died 1094. See *Introd. Domeſday*, i. 479. According to *Ordericus Vitalis*, A. D. 1067, Roger remained in Normandy during the expedition.

⁹ Lord of Breteuil ; ſenefchal of the duke, as has been before mentioned.

T

Autre corps d'armée, composé de Bretons, Man-ceaux et Poitevins.

Troisième corps d'armée, composé de Normands, et commandé par le duc.

Détails sur l'équipement et l'armure des soldats de Guillaume.

Signes de reconnaissance.

Ordre de la marche.

Li Boilogneiz¹ è li Pohiers^m
 Aureiz è toz mes soldéiers.
 De l'autre part Alain Fergant
 Et Aimeri li cumbatant,
 Poitevinz merontⁿ è Bretons
 E del Maine toz li Barons ;
 E jo, od totes mes granz genz
 Et od amiz et od parenz,
 Me cumbatrai par la grant presse
 U la bataille iert plus engresse.^o
 Armé furent tuit li Baron
 E li Chevalier è li gueldon.
 La gent à pié fu bien armée,
 Chescun porta arc et espée ;
 Sor lor testes orent chapels,
 A lor piez liez lor panels ;
 Alquanz unt bones coiriés,^p
 K'il unt à lor ventre liés ;
 Plusors orent vestu gambais,^q
 Couires orent ceinz et archais.^r
 Chevaliers ont haubers è branz,
 Chauces de fer, helmes luizanz,
 Escuz as cols, as mains lor lances ;
 E tuit orent fet cognoissances,^s
 Ke Normant altre conéust,
 Et k'entrepature^t n'éust ;
 Ke Normant altre ne férift,
 Ne Franceiz altre n'océïst.^u
 Cil a pié aloient avant
 Serrément, lors ars portant ;
 Chevaliers emprez chevalchoent,
 Ki les archiers emprez gardoent.
 Cil à cheval è cil à pié,
 Si com il orent comencié

" The men of Boulogne, and of Poix,¹ form thy Band,
 " And the whole of my Soldiers² are at thy command.
 " The men of Poitou, and the Bretons, proceed
 " In another direction,—and that Force shall lead
 " The Viscount of Thoars, and Alain Fergant,
 " And with them shall march all the Barons of Maine.
 " I myself, with my Nobles, and Men of my Race,
 " My own Friends and Kindred, will take up my place,
 " Where we in main Battle may put forth our might,
 " And charge in the Throng, and the thick of the Fight."

Now the Barons and Knights were in order array'd,
 The Spearman and Archers their Arms ready made.
 Each Bowman, too, carry'd a sword at his side,
 Cap on head, Buskins lac'd ; with wrappers of Hide,
 Or Garments well quilted, their Bodies around ;
 Their Quivers and Bows to their girdles were bound.
 Mail'd Hauberks and Brassarts, the Knights mostly wore,
 Steel Hose, and bright Helmets, they all of them bore.
 With Shields on their Necks, and with hands grasping Lance,
 And each Knight was known by his own cognizance.
 So Norman knew Norman or Frenchman in Fray,
 And risk'd not a friend 'stead of Foeman to slay.

Distinctive
 marks, the origin
 of Coats of
 Arms.

In the Van march'd the Bowmen in deep ferried rank ;
 The Knights in support, on their Rear, and their Flank.
 The Horse and the Foot, as they mov'd o'er the Plain,
 Were marshall'd close order and ranks to maintain.

¹ Ceux de Boulogne-sur-Mer.

^m Ceux de Poix en Picardie.

ⁿ Meneront.

^o Opiniâtre, acharnée.

^p Courroies.

^q Pourpoint piqué et garni qui servait de plafron.

^r Carquois et arcs pendus à la ceinture.

^s Signes de convention.

^t Imposture, surprise.

^u Ne tuât.

¹ Poix in Picardy, and Boulogne-sur-mer. Wace seems to omit EUSTACE OF BOULOGNE, conspicuous in other historians. AIMERI was viscount of Thouars.

² "Soldéiers" is used by Wace in its strict sense, of men serving merely for hire. *Mer-
cenaries*,—as distinct from those giving feudal service.

Détails sur l'armée anglaise.

Tindrent lor eire è lor compas,^v
 Serréement lor petit pas
 Ke l'un l'autre ne trespasfout,
 Ne n'aprisfount^w ne n'esloignout ;
 Tuit aloent ferréement,
 E tuit aloent fièrement.
 D'ambedui parz archiers esteient,
 Ki à travers traire^x debveient.
 Heraut out sez homes mandez,
 Cels des chastels è des citez,
 Des ports, des viles è des bors,
 Contes, Baronz è vavassors.
 Li vilain des viles aplouent,^y
 Tels armes portent com ils trovent,
 Machues portent è granz pels,^z
 Forches ferrées è tinels.^a
 Engleiz orent un champ porpris,^b
 Là fu Heraut od ses amis
 Et od li Baronz del païs,
 Ke il out femons è requis.
 Venuz furent delivrement^c
 Cil de Lundres è cil de Kent,
 Cil de Herfort è cil d'Esseffe,^d
 Cil de Surée è de Suffesse,^e
 De Saint Edmund è de Sufoc,
 E de Norwis è de Norfoc,
 De Cantorbier è de Stanford,^f
 E cil vindrent de Bedefort,
 E cil ki sunt de Hundetone ;^g
 Venu sunt cil de Northantone,^h
 D'Eurowicⁱ è de Bokinkeham,
 De Bed è de Notinkeham :^k
 De Lindefie è de Nichole^l
 Vindrent qui forent la parole.

Majestic and slowly, without Crowd or Throng,
Observing due distance, each Corps mov'd along,
Compactly and firmly ;—till Shots to exchange,
In each Host the Bowmen 'gan measure their range.

From Castles, from Cities, Ports, Hamlets, and Towns,
Earls, Barons, and Vavassors, Vilains, and Clowns,
Had obey'd Harold's summons, and came as they might,
And arm'd as they could, to give aid in the Fight.
With Clubs, or long Stakes,—whilst others there were,
Who Forks, or stout Poles shod with Iron, did bear.

In the Field in which Harold His Host had array'd,
The English, a Camp with Entrenchments had made,
And thither the Barons, and Men of the Land,
All gather'd, and rang'd themselves under His hand.

From London, from Hertfordshire, Essex, and Kent,
From Suffolk, from Surrey, and Suffex, they went :
From Norfolk, and Stafford's good County and Town,
From Bedford and Bedfordshire,—and Huntingdon :³
From the Shire of Northampton, and great Shire of York,
From Bucks, and from Nottingham, train'd for the work ;
And Lindsey and Lincolnshire,—region of Fen,
All heard their King's summons, and sent Him their Men.

Thither too, when they heard Harold's call and behest,
Came flocking great Forces from out of the West.

Serfs.

The Translator begs indulgence for this rendering of Wace's nomenclature. His object has been to omit no Place mentioned, but to modernize the names ; and as Wace's arrangement is more guided by the rhyme, than by Geography, he has ventured to take similar liberties, without exactly following the original collocation. A.M.

^v Leur marche et leur direction.

^w Ni n'approchât.

^x Tirer.

^y Ils appelaient les payfans des villages.

^z Pieux.

^a Bâtons, leviers.

^b Clos, entouré.

^c Promptement.

^d Essex.

^e Surrey et Suffex.

^f Stamford.

^g Huntingdon.

^h Northampton.

ⁱ York.

^k Nottingham.

^l De Lindsey et de Lincoln.

³ Huntingdon. For *Bed*, which seems a repetition of Bedford, M. de la Rue's MS. reads *Bedi*. Eurowic is York ; Nichol—Lincoln ; Salebiere—Salisbury ; Bat—Bath ; Hontefire—Hampshire ; Brichefire—Berkshire.

Dechà deverz soleil levant
 Véiffiez venir gent mult grant
 De Salebiere^m è de Dorfete
 E de Batⁿ è de Sumerfete ;
 Mult en i vint de verz Glocestre,
 E mult en vint de Wirecestre,^o
 De Wincestre, de Hontefire^p
 Et del conté de Brichesfire.^q
 Mult en vint d'autres cuntrées
 Ke nos n'avon mie nomées ;
 Ne poon mie tot nomer,
 Ne ne volon tot aconter.^r
 Tuit cil ki armes porter porent
 Ki la novele del Duc forent,^s
 Alerent la terre desfendre
 D'icels ki la voloent prendre.
 D'ultre li Humbre^t n'i vint gaires,
 Quer cil orent altres affaires ;
 Daneiz les orent damagiez
 E Tofti les out empiriez.^u
 Heraut fout ke Normanz veindreient,
 E ke par main les affaldréient ;
 Un champ out par matin porpris^v
 U il a toz ses Engleiz mis ;
 Par matin les fist toz armer
 E la bataille conréer.^w
 Et il out armes et ator,^x
 Ki conveneit à tel Seignor.
 Li Dus, ço dist, le deit requerre,
 Ki cunquerre velt Engleterre,
 Et il, ço dist, le deit atendre,
 Ki la terre li deit defendre.
 A fa gent dist è comanda,
 Et à ses baronz cunseilla

Harold range son
 armée en ba-
 taille, et donne
 ses ordres.

Il indique la
 manière la plus
 avantageuse de

From Berkshire, and Wiltshire, from Sarum, and Bath,
All fit to bear arms, fally'd forth on War's path.
Men of Winton, and Hants, in the ranks you might find,
And Gloster and Worcester were no whit behind.

From other Shires also, and Places, Men came,
Many more than we know of, or knowing, could name ;
When they learnt the Duke's coming, each Man took the field,
Who was able to march, or a Weapon to wield ;
'Gainst Invasion all ready their service to lend,
And the Land where they dwelt, with their lives to defend.

The parts North of Humber, afforded small aid,
Laid waste and despoil'd by the Danes in their Raid ;
For Tofti's Incurfion had stripp'd the Land bare,
And left them great damage and los to repair.

Of the plans of the Normans, forewarn'd and aware,
Harold waiting their Onset, caus'd all things prepare ;
A Field He selected, entrenching the ground,^a
And there He dispos'd all His English around ;
He made them take Arms as the day 'gan to break,
And forthwith their order of Battle to take.
He equipp'd Himself next,—and by Him were borne,
Arms such as by Seignor like Him, should be worn.
The Duke, Harold said, should the Battle begin,
As striving the Kingdom of England to win ;
Whilst He, its Defender, would seek to drive back
The Fury and heat of the Norman Attack.
To His Men, and His Barons, He gave strict command,

^a Salisbury.

^b Bath.

^c Worcester.

^d Le Hampshire.

^e Le Berkshire.

^f Raconter.

^g Surent.

^h L'Humber.

ⁱ Mis en peine.

^j Clos.

^k Disposer.

^l Equipages.

^m Mane pedites imprimis cum bipennibus confertam Scutorum testudinem fecerunt quod profecto valuisset nisi Normanni fugam simulassent.—HIGDEN'S *Polychronicon*, Lib. vi. p. 286. Ed. Thomas Gale, Oxon, 1691.

combattre les
Normands.

Ke tuit ensemble se tenissent
Et ensemble se defendissent,
Quer se d'iloc se desparteient,
A grant paine se rescovreient.
Normanz, dist-il, sunt boen vassal,
Vaillant à pié et à cheval ;
A cheval sunt boen chevalier
E de cumbatre costumier ;
Se dedenz noz poent entrer,
Nient iert puiz del recovrer.^γ
Lungues lances unt et espées,
Ke de lor terres unt aportées,
E vos avez lances agües
E granz gifarmes esmolues.
Cuntre vos armes ki bien taillent
Ne kuid les lor gaires ne vaillent ;
Trenchiez quant ke trenchier porreiz
Et jà mar^z rien esparnerez.
Heraut out grant pople è estult,^a
De totes parz en i vint mult ;
Maiz multitude petit vaut
Se la vertu du ciel i faut.
Plufor è plufor unt poiz dit,
Ke Heraut aveit gent petit,
Por ço ke à li meschaï ;^b
Maiz plusors dient è jel di,^c
Ke cuntre un home altre envéia.
La gent al Duc poi foifonna,
Maiz li Dus aveit veirement,
Plufors Baronz è meillor gent :

Estimation de la
force de l'armée
anglaise.

^γ Il n'y aura plus de remède.

^a Et ce serait mal à propos que vous épargneriez quelqu'un.

^b Arriva mal.

^c Et je le dis.

^a Fier, hautain.

Cloſe order to keep, and to fight in one Band.⁵
 Unleſs ſo they fought, and the Combat maintain'd,
 Not ſcathleſs their ranks could be ever regain'd.
 " Theſe Normans," He ſaid, " are Men ſkill'd in war,
 " Brave Horſemen and Footmen, they each of them are ;
 " Good Knights, ſkill'd in combat ;—ye'll learn to your coſt,
 " If they break through our line, that the Day muſt be loſt !
 " Long Lances and Swords do they wield, as their arms,
 " But ye too, have Lances, and keen-edg'd Giſarmes.⁶
 " 'Gainſt Arms ſuch as yours, which will hew through their Mail,
 " I deem that their Weapons will little avail.
 " Only ſmite where ye can,—deal your ſtrokes with a will,
 " And remember that he who would ſpare,—hath done ill !"

A vaſt Hoſt had Harold, Men proud of their might,
 From all parts had gather'd, to aid Him in fight ;
 But what avail numbers, or Force in the Field,
 Unleſs Heav'n help them, and ſtretch forth its Shield !

It hath oft been bruited, and many Men ſay,
 The Forces of Harold were weak on that day ;
 And thence His miſcarriage,—but I join with thoſe
 Who aſſert, that to Man, there was Man to oppoſe ;
 More Men the Duke had not,—but ſtill in his Hoſt
 He had better Men,—and of Barons, the moſt.
 Many Knights of renown in his Squadrons, too, rode,

The moſt authentic accounts would give Harold about 25000 men. The Battle being fought on the 18th day after that of Pomefret, it is clear he had not time to collect a much larger force. Edwin and Morcar kept aloof—diſſatisfied, as Higden ſays, at the portion of ſpoil allotted to them after the deſtruction of the Daniſh Army.

⁵ *Cuncti pedites confitere denſius conglobati.*—WILLIAM OF POITIERS, *du Cheſne*, p. 201.

⁶ " Giſarmes." " Wace mentions the giſarme as an exceedingly deſtructive weapon, uſed by the Saxons at the Battle of Haſtings : but by the Giſarme he evidently means the 'byl,' to which he gives a Norman name :"—ſee *Hiſt. of Britiſh Coſtume*, 1834, page 33. The Saxons uſed alſo the bipennis, or " twy-byll." The bill was an axe with a long handle. Benoit mentions " haches Danoïſes," which probably were the double axes. Wace afterwards ſays of the hache of an Engliſh knight :—

Hache noreſche out mult bele,
 Plus de plain pié out l'alemele.

Les Anglais se
retranchent au
moyen de bou-
cliers et de palif-
sades.

Plenté out de boens Chevaliers
E grant plenté de boens archiers.
Geldons^d Engleiz haches portoent,
E gifarmes ki bien trenchoent ;
Fet orent devant els escuz
De fenestres è d'autres fuz,^e
Devant els les orent levez
Come cleies joinz è ferrez ;
N'i lessierent nule jointure,
Fet en orent devant closture.
Par ù Normanz entrelz venist,
Ki descunfire les volfist.
D'escuz è d'aiz^f s'avironerent,
Iffi desfendre se kuiderent ;
Et s'il se fussent bien tenu,
Jà ne fussent li jor veincu.
Jà Normant ne s'i embastist,^g
Ke l'alme à hunte ne perdist,
Fust par hache, fust par gifarme,
U par machue u par altre arme.
Corz^h haubers orent è petis
E helmes de for lor vestis.
Li Reis Heraut dist è fist dire,
E fist banirⁱ com lor fire
Ke chescun tienge atort son vis^j
Tot dreit cuntre lor anemis ;
Nus ne tort^k de là ù il est,
E ki veindra là les truis prest :
Ke ke Normant et altre face,
Chescun desfende bien sa place.
Dunc rova^l cels de Kent aler
Là ù Normanz durent joster,^m

Ordres donnés
par Harold.

^d Payfans.

^e Bois.

^f De boucliers et de planches.

^g Ne s'y logeât.

Nor less were his Archers, both num'rous and good.

Short Axes, sharp Bills, were the Arms of offence
By the English Foot borne,—and they made them a Fence
Of Bucklers, and wattle work well interlac'd;
Thus forming a Breastwork, in front of them plac'd.
The Barrier so form'd was a close Hurdle like,
Which the Normans must force, ere a stroke they could strike.
Thus fenc'd with their Shields, and a stout Barricade,
They deem'd,—and with reason,—defence might be made.
And if to this purpose they firmly had held,
Other Issue that day had most surely beheld:⁷
For no Norman Warrior that Barrier did force,
But met with disaster, and fell a dead Corse;
Hewn down by the Axe edge, or smote by Gisarme,
Or slain by the Club, or by some other arm.
Short⁸ close-fitting Hauberks those Englishmen wore,
And Helmets that join'd to their Hauberks,⁹ they bore.

King Harold proclaim'd, and gave all men to know,
Like Him, they should stand, with their face to the Foe;
That none should break rank,—so that, happen what might,
Each man had his place ready mark'd for the Fight;
Nor on friend or foe, should their station depend,
But each do his best, his own Post to defend.

The Kentish Men, claiming as matter of right,
To stand in the Van, and strike first in the Fight,

^b Courts.

ⁱ Crier, publier.

^j Son visage tourné.

^k Ne tourne.

^l Ordonna.

^m Attaquer.

⁷ *Vide ante*, note 4, to p. 143.

⁸ Even down to the fifteenth century the Normans are said to have called the English "courts vestus." See the songs at the end of the *Vaux-de-vires* of Olivier Basselin.

⁹ This seems further explained afterwards by the description of the English knight's helmet. But the text is often so imperfect, and at such variance with the ordinary rules of Norman French grammar, that it is frequently hard to be certain as to the fidelity of a translation.

Harold se place
avec ses frères au
milieu de son
armée, et près de
l'étendard.

Kar ço dient ke cil de Kent
Deivent férir primierement ;
U ke li Reis auge en estor,^a
Li primier colp deit estre lor.
Cil de Lundres, par dreite fei,
Deivent garder li cors li Rei,
Tut entur li deivent ester,^o
E l'estandart deivent garder ;
Cil furent miz à l'estandart,
Ke chescun le defent è gart.
Quant Heraut out tot aprefté,
E ço k'il volt out comandé,
Emmi^p les Engleiz est venu,
Lez^q l'estendart est descendu ;
Lewine è Guert furent od lui,
Frere Heraut furent andui ;^r
Asez out entur li Baronz.
Heraut fu lez fi gonfanonz ;
Li gonfanon fu mult vaillanz,
D'or è de pierres reluifanz ;
Willame pois ceste victoire
Le fist porter à l'Apostole,^s
Por mostrer è metre en mémoire
Sun grant cunqueft è sa grant gloire.
Engleiz se sunt tenu ferré,
Tuit de cumbatre atalenté ;^t
Un fossé unt d'une part fait,
Ki parmi la champaigne vait.
Entretant^u Normanz aparurent,
D'un pendant furstrent ù il furent,^v
D'une vallée è d'un pendant
Sort un cunrei^w ki vint avant.

On voit paraître
l'armée nor-
mande.

^a En quelque endroit que le roi aille au combat.

^o Se tenir.

He caus'd to advance, and position to take,
 Where deeming the Normans their onset would make.
 They claim'd, when their Monarch to Battle should go,
 The right in that Battle to strike the first Blow.
 The Londoners' claim, was His person to guard,
 That where'er He stood, they should keep watch and ward;
 They also to guard The King's Standard were bound,
 And where it was planted, they took up their ground.

His Army thus marshall'd, at Harold's behest,
 And all things so order'd, as seem'd to Him best,
 He drew near the Standard, in midst of His Host,
 And there¹ He dismounted, and took up His Post.
 There Leofwin, and Gurth, His Brothers, were found,
 And there many Barons encircl'd him round.
 Harold stood by His Standard, which floated and roll'd,
 Full gorgeously gleaming with Gems and with Gold.

To the Pope did Duke William that Banner consign,
 When in fight he had won it,—as Victory's sign,
 And Symbol of Conquest,—to show and declare
 What Honour and Glory had fall'n to His share.

Now the English had trench'd, and had thrown up a bank,
 In a part of the Field which protected their Flank;²
 And so in close order, they kept their array,
 All ready and eager to join in the fray.

Meanwhile marching onward, the Norman force crown'd
 The Crest of a Hill,—moving from the low ground,

^p Parmi, au milieu.

^q Proche, à côté.

^r Tous deux.

^s Un pape.

^t Ayant envie.

^u En ce moment.

^v Ils sortirent d'un vallon où ils étaient.

^w Un corps de troupes.

¹ Rex ipse Haraldus pedes, juxta vexillum suum cum fratribus suis duobus stabat.—
 HIGDEN's *Polychronicon*, Lib. vi. p. 286. Ed. Thomas Gale, Oxon, 1691.

² *Ordericus Vitalis* states that the spot where the battle was fought was *anciently* called SENLAC. That word certainly sounds very like French, and as originating in the blood which flowed there: but his expression has been thought to carry the antiquity of the name, in his opinion at least, much earlier than the date of the battle.

Harold et Gurth
discutent la force
des deux armées.

Li Reis Heraut de luing les vit,
Guert apela, si li a dit :
Frere, dist-il, ù gardes tu ?^x
As tu li Dus qui vient véu ?
De cele gent ke jo vei là,
La nostre gent nul mal n'ara ;
Il a poi gent à nos cunquerre,
Mult ai grant gent en cele terre,
Encore ai jo tuz cumbatanz
Ke Chevaliers ke paifanz
Par quatre foiz chent mil armez.
Par fei, dist Guert, grant gent avez,
Maiz mult petit poise en bataille
Assemblée de vilanaille.
Grant gent avez en forquetot.^y
Mult creim Normanz è mult les dot ;^z
Tuit cil ki viennent d'outremer
Sont mult à craindre è à doter.
Bien sunt armé, à cheval vunt,
Nos maifnies défolerunt.^a
Mult unt lances, mult unt escuz,
Mult unt haubers, helmes aguz,
Mult unt glaives, mult unt espées,
Ars è faetes barbelées ;^b
Les faetes sunt mult isneles,^c
Mult plus tost vunt ke arondeles.
Guert, dist Heraut, ne t'esmaier,^d
Dex nos pot bien, s'il volt, aidier :
Jà par la gent ke jo là vei
Ne nos estuet^e estre en esfrei.
Endementrez^f ke il parloent
De cels Normanz k'il esgardoent,
Sort un altre cunrei plus grant,
Emprez l'autre ferréement ;

Frayeur d'Ha-
rold à la vue
d'un second
corps d'armée
normand.

A Troop form'd in front, which King Harold espy'd,
And thus spake to Gurth, when their ranks He descry'd :—

“ Dost see, Brother Gurth, where the Duke yonder comes ?

“ And the force of Our Foe in the distance which looms ?

“ Little count do I make of what force I perceive,

“ Our Host, from such numbers, no hurt can receive.

“ Too weak is that Army to force Us to yield,

“ And not fit to cope with Our Men in the Field ;

“ For forty ten-thousands I reckon here stand,

“ Of Peasants and Knights, in defence of our Land !”

“ My faith,” answer'd Gurth, “ tho' your numbers are great,

“ These Serfs in the Combat can have but small weight.

“ Of Churls in frieze kirtles, full many are here,

“ But knowing their prowess, these Normans I fear.

“ All those who have come with the Duke over Sea,

“ Are men to be dreaded, as soon we shall see.

“ Well arm'd are they all, and well hors'd, and I dread,

“ That under their Hoofs, they our People will tread.

“ Many Lances are there,—Men with Hauberk and Shield,

“ And Casques on their Heads, and who Glaive or Sword wield.

“ And many an Arrow will fly in this Fight,

“ Outstripping the Swallow in swiftness of flight.”

“ Brother Gurth,” Harold said, “ be thou not dismay'd,

“ For God, if so please Him, can grant Us His aid.

“ Of the Foe I here see, who as yet have drawn near,

“ The Force seems so weak, that there's little to fear.”

While the Brothers thus spake of the Normans in view,

A second Troop forth from the main Body drew.

Harold here
names, accord-
ing to Wace, an
absurd number.

* Où regardes-tu ?

† En habits de paysan, sans armure, cotte, écu ni haubert.

* Je crains beaucoup les Normands, et je les redoute.

‡ Fouleront aux pieds.

‡ Flèches garnies de plumes, flèches empennées.

§ Légères, promptes.

§ Ne t'inquiète.

¶ Ne nous faut.

‡ Pendant que.

Reproches de
son frère.

A une part del champ tornerent,
E fi k'as altres s'assemblerent.
Heraut les vit, fi les garda,
Guert apela, fi li mostra :
Guert, dist-il, nos anemiz creïssent ;
Chevaliers vienent et espeïssent,^s
Mult part en vient, grant poor ai ;
Unkes maiz tant ne m'esmaai,^h
De la bataille ai grant fréor,
Mi cors en est en grant poor.
—Heraut, dist-il, mal espleitas
Quant de bataille jor nomas ;
Ço peïse mei ke chà venis
E k'à Lundres ne remainfis,ⁱ
U à Londres u à Wincestre,
Maiz ore est tart, ne pot maiz estre.
Sire frere, Heraut a dit,
Cunseil ariere velt petit ;
Desfendon nos fe nos poon,
Ne fai mez altre garison.^j
Se tu, dist Guert, à Lundres fusses,
De vile en vile aler péusses,
E jà li Dus ne te quérift,^k
Engleiz dotaft è tei cremift ;
Ariere alaft u paix féift,
E tes regnes te remainfift.
Unkes creire ne me volfis,
Ne ne preïfa ço ke jo dis ;
De la bataille jor méis
E à cel jor terme afféïs,
E de ton gré fi le quefis.^l

^s Epaiïssent, augmentent.

ⁱ Ne restas.

^h Jamais je n'eus tant d'inquiétude.

^j Je n'y fais point maintenant d'autre remède.

Compact as the other, they mov'd o'er the Field,
 But on other point marching, fronted and wheel'd.
 More in numbers they were,—and like the first Band,
 When a point they had gain'd, there they took up their stand.

This move Harold watch'd,—and He turn'd Him about,
 Calling Gurth,—and this Troop of the Foe pointed out.

“ Mark well, Gurth,” He said, “ how in numbers they grow,
 “ And the vast force of Knights that there be with the Foe.
 “ From all sides they gather,—I feel a dismay
 “ Such as yet I ne'er felt, for result of the day ;
 “ For never as now, when the Combat drew near,
 “ Did my heart own a thought of misgiving or fear !”

“ Yea, ill was it done, Brother Harold,” Gurth said,
 “ When compact to fight on fix'd day, was thus made ;
 “ For had'st thou in London, or Winchester, stay'd,
 “ This crisis of War might have still been delay'd.
 “ Too late is it now,—with the Foe we defy'd,
 “ Here, and now, must the chances of Battle be try'd.”

“ Sir Brother,” said Harold, “ it boots not at all,
 “ Thy counsels erst given, so late to recall ;
 “ Since no other Issue doth fortune afford,
 “ Let Us trust to our right, and the edge of the Sword !”

But Gurth still repeated,—“ Thy duty was clear,
 “ From London to stir up the Towns in our rear ;
 “ No pursuit by the Duke would have ever been made,
 “ Misdoubting the English, and of you afraid.
 “ Either he to his Land a retreat would have beat,
 “ Or fought an arrangement, and offer'd to treat.
 “ Thus kept You your Kingdom ; but this my Advice
 “ Was flighted, and, therefore, you now pay the price.
 “ Free of choice,—Thy wishes, no Soul durst oppose,
 “ And this is the day which for Battle you chose !”

^k Ne te chercherait.

^l Ainsi le demandas.

Guert, dist Heraut, por bien le fis ;
 Jor li affis à famedi,
 Por ço ke famedi naski ;
 Ma mere dire me foleit^m
 Ke à cel jor bien m'aveindreit.
 Fol est, dist Guert, ki en fort creit,
 Jà nul prudhoem creire n'i deit,
 Nul prudhoem ne deit creire en fort.
 A son jor a chescun fa mort ;
 Tu dis ke famedi naskis,
 A cel jor pos estre occis.
 Atant est forseⁿ une cumpaigne
 Ki covri tute la champaigne ;
 Là fu li gonfanon levez,
 Ki de Rome fu aportez ;
 Joste^o l'ensuigne ala li Dus :
 Là fu li mielx, là fu li plus ;
 Là furent li boen Chevalier,
 Li boen vassal, li boen guerrier ;
 Là furent li gentil baron,
 Li boen archier, li boen geldon,
 Ki debveient li Dus garder,
 Et entur li debveient aler.
 Li garchon è l'altre frapaille,^p
 Ki mestier n'orent en bataille,
 Ki le menu herneiz garderent,
 De verz un teltre^q s'en tornerent.
 Li proveire è li ordené^r
 En som un tertre sunt monté
 Por Dex préier è por orer,
 E por la bataille esgarder.
 Heraut vit Willame venir,
 E li chams vit d'armes covrir,
 E vit Normanz en treiz partir,^s

On voit paraître
 le troisième corps
 d'armée, com-
 mandé par le
 duc.

Frayeur et re-
 pentir d'Harold.

"Nay, Gurth," answer'd Harold, "'twas best, as I thought,
 "When I Saturday fix'd, for the Fight to be fought.
 "That day was I born,—and Our Mother did say,
 "Good Fortune was link'd with my lot on that day."
 "Oh folly," cry'd Gurth, "thus in luck to believe!
 "Wise men are not wont themselves so to deceive.
 "What man of sound judgment relies on the Fates?
 "His day hath each mortal, when Death for him waits.
 "Thou hast Saturday nam'd, as the day of Thy birth,
 "On that very day Thou may'st mingle with Earth!"

Meanwhile, a third Body came sweeping along,
 And hid all the Plain with their Masses, and throng.
 The folds of the Standard from Rome there did fly,
 Duke William himself, to his Banner rode nigh;
 And of Chivalry with him, the number was most,
 And the bravest and best Cavaliers of the Host.
 With him march'd his Vassals, those Warriors well try'd,
 And there too, his Barons did gallantly ride.
 While Archers and Spear-men, who form'd the Duke's Guard,
 Kept near him, all risk from his Person to ward.
 The youths and the Suttlers, and men of that stamp,
 In charge of small stores, which they brought from the Camp,
 Took Post on a Slope.—On another Hill's side,
 Whence the tide of the Battle was clearly descry'd,
 The Men of the Church, and the Priests, took their place,
 And Orisons offer'd to God, for His Grace.

Harold saw William's Host, how they cover'd the Plain,
 And watch'd how the Space 'twixt the Armies 'gan wane,
 Mark'd well how the Normans, three Bodies had form'd,
 And knew, that His Lines, on three points would be storm'd;

^m Avait coutume de me dire.

ⁿ Sortie.

^o Près.

^p Valetaille, canaille.

^q Tertre.

^r Les prêtres et ceux qui étaient dans les ordres.

^s En trois se diviser.

Ki de treiz parz voldrent férir ;
 Ne fai kels deie plus doter,
 A paine pout itant parler :
 Nos fomes, dist-il, mal bailli,
 Mult criem ke nos féions honi.
 Li quens de Flandres m'a traï ;
 Mult fis ke fol ke jel' créï,
 Kar par son brief^t m'aveit mandé,
 E par messaige asséuré
 Ke Willame ne porreit mie
 Avoir si grant chevalerie ;
 Por ço, dist-il, me suiz targiez,^u
 Ke me suis tant poi porchaciez ;^v
 Ço peise mei ke ai si fait.^w
 Sun frere Guert à sei a trait,^x
 Miz se sunt juste^y l'estandart ;
 Chescun prie ke Dex le gart.
 Envirun els lor parenz furent
 E li Baron ke il conurent ;
 Toz les unt préié de bien faire.
 Nus ne s'en pot d'iloc retraire ;^z
 Chescun out son haubert vestu,
 Espée ceinte, el col l'escu ;
 Granz haches tindrent en lor cols,
 Dunc il kudent férir granz cols.
 A pié furent ferréement,
 Mult se contindrent fièrement ;
 Maiz s'il féussent deviner
 Mult déussent plaindre è plorer
 Por la dolorose aventure,
 Ki lor avint mult male è dure.
Olicrosse^a foyent crioent,
 E *Godemite*^b reclamoent :
Olicrosse est en engleiz

Harold et Gurth
 se placent près
 de l'étendard, au
 milieu de leur
 famille et de
 leurs barons.

Les Anglais in-
 voquent Dieu et
 la sainte Croix.

His Spirit was troubl'd, and scarce do I know,
Which Body He dreaded the most, of the Foe.
At length He found speech,—and in broken words said :—

“ Evil Lot hath befall'n Us this day, We're afraid
“ Misadventure impends ;—too much We believ'd
“ In that Count of Flanders ;—Our faith he deceiv'd.
“ Fond folly it was, that We trusted one whit
“ To his Messages, or to the Letters he writ.
“ Assurance he gave, and led Us to expect,
“ That such Force as this, the Duke ne'er could collect.
“ Relying on him,—preparations were stay'd ;
“ Now we bitterly rue that so long We delay'd !”

Where the Standard was planted,³ in midst of their Host,
Gurth and Harold together now took up their Post.
The Barons stood round, and for God's help did pray,
As there, with their Kinsmen, they stood in array,
To do his devoirs, each the other befought,
Since retreat there was none, and the Fight must be fought.
Each Man had his Hauberk, and each a Sword wore,
Shields brac'd on their necks, and great Axes they bore ;
Dread death-dealing weapons.—Close order they took,
All on foot, and most gallant and brave did they look.
Perchance they had had other bearing and mien,
If the Issue of Combat they could have foreseen ;
And their ranks had been fill'd with bewailing and dread,
Had they known what a destiny hung o'er their head.

¹ Sa lettre.

² Que je me suis si peu pressé.

³ A tiré.

⁴ Retirer.

⁵ *God mighty*, Dieu puissant ; ou *God almighty*, Dieu tout-puissant.

⁶ Rex ipse Haraldus pedes, juxta vexillum suum cum fratribus suis duobus stabat.—
HIGDEN's *Polychronicon*, Lib. vi. p. 286. Ed. Thomas Gale, Oxon, 1691.

⁷ Retardé.

⁸ Cela me pèse d'avoir agi ainsi.

⁹ Proche.

¹⁰ *Holy cross*.

Les Normands
les attaquent
sur trois points.

Préparatifs et
signaux de la
bataille.

Ke^c fainte Croix est en franceiz,
E *Godemite* altretant
Com en frenceiz Dex tot poissant.
Normanz orent treiz cumpaignies
Por affaillir en treiz parties ;
En treiz cumpaignes se partirent,^d
E treiz cumpaignes d'armes firent.
Li primiers è li secund vint,
E poiz li tiers ki plus grant tint :
Ço fu li Dus ovec fa gent ;
Tuit alerent hardiement.
Dez ke li dous ost^e s'entrevirent,
Grant noife è grant temulte firent ;
Mult oïffiez graïlles^f foner
E boïfines^g è cors corner ;
Mult véïffiez gent porfichier,^h
Efcuz lever, lances drecier,
Tendre lor ars, faetes prendre,
Prez d'affaillir, prez de desfendre.
Engleiz à estalⁱ se teneient
E li Normanz toz tems veneient.
Quant il virent Normanz venir,
Mult véïffiez Engleiz fremir,
Genz esmover, ost estormir ;^k
Li uns rouir,^l li altres palir ;
Armes feïfir, esfcuz lever ;
Hardiz faillir, coarz trembler.

Taillefer chante
la chançon de
Roland.

Taillefer, ki mult bien cantout,
Sor un cheval ki tost alout,

^c Ce que.

^d Se divisèrent.

^e Les deux armées.

^f Espèce de trompette mince et longue dont le son était fort aigu.

^g Buccines, trompettes.

^h Se ranger.

ⁱ En place.

^k Le camp se mettre en mouvement.

^l Rougir.

Holy Crofs !⁴ as a War-cry, or Pray'r, they oft faid,
And God The Almighty, invok'd to their aid.

These Lines have recorded, and shown in detail,
How the Normans intended three points to affail.
Their Host in three Bodies was form'd on that day,
Each sep'rately marshall'd, and rang'd for the Fray.
The first and the second Corps, now advanc'd near,
The third, and the strongest, mov'd close on their Rear.
The Duke in that Body came on, with his Force,
All gallantly marching, and holding their course.

As each Host to other its Ranks did oppose,
On both sides loud clamour and tumult arofe.
Shrill braying of Clarions then smote on the Ear,
And signals of Trumpets, and Horns, might you hear.
Men hurry'd to take up their posts, then were seen,
Shields rais'd, Lances pois'd, and their steely points sheen ;
Bows were strung, and the Arrows to hand ready laid,
For assault or defence ev'ry Soul gave his aid.

The English stood firmly, and fast, at their Post,
While the Normans advancing, mov'd on with their Host.
Then a movement and stir ran the English ranks through,
As nearer and nearer the Norman Force drew.
Some felt their blood mount,—whilst others turn'd pale,
The brave grasp'd their Arms,—Cravens shook in their Mail.

Then ⁵Taillefer,⁶—far fam'd for his knowledge of Song,
In front of Duke William came prancing along.

⁴ Holy crofs. M. de la Rue's MS. reads "Alicort."

⁵ Quidam vero nomine Taillefer, diu antequam coirent bellatores ensibus jactatis ludens, coram gente Anglorum, dum in eum omnes stuperent, quendam Vexilliferum Anglorum interfecit. Secundo similiter egit. Tertio idem agens et ipse interfectus est.—HENRY OF HUNTINGDON, *Hist.* Lib. vii.

⁶ Bishop Guy, in his *Carmen de bello Hastingensi*, thus describes Taillefer,
"INCISOR FERRI mimus cognomine dictus."

Il réclame et obtient l'honneur de frapper le premier coup.

Il tue un Anglais, en frappe un second, et la mêlée commence.

Devant li Dus alout cantant
De Karlemaine è de Rollant,
E d'Oliver è des vassals
Ki morurent en Renchevals.
Quant il orent chevalchié tant
K'as Engleis vindrent aprismant :^m
Sires, dist Taillefer, merci,
Jo vos ai lungement fervi,
Tut mon servise me debvez ;
Hui se vos plaist me le rendez.
Por tut guerredun vos requier,ⁿ
E si vos voil forment préier :
Otréiez mei, ke jo n'i faille,
Li primier colp de la bataille.
E li Dus respont : Je l'otrei.^o
E Taillefer point à defrei,^p
Devant toz li altres se mist ;
Un Engliez féri, si l'ocist ;
De soz le pis^q parmie la pance
Li fist passer ultre la lance ;
A terre estendu l'abati,
Poiz trait l'espée, altre féri,
Poiz a crié : Venez, venez ;
Ke fetes vos ? Férez, férez.

He is there also called "histrion," but his singing is not mentioned.

"Hortatur Gallos verbis, et irritat Anglos ;

Alte projiciens ludit et ense suo."

An Englishman starts out of the ranks to attack him, but is slain by the "incisor ferri," who thus

"—belli principium monstrat et esse suum."

^m Approchant.

ⁿ Pour toute récompense, je vous demande.

^o Je l'accorde.

^p Pique au galop.

^q La poitrine.

⁷ Et statim acies invicem offenderunt cum cantilena Rolandi ex parte Normannorum inchoatâ.—HIGDEN'S *Polychronicon*, Lib. vi. p. 286. Ed. Thomas Gale, Oxon, 1691.

He sung Charlemagne,—and the Song of Roland,⁷
 And of Oliver's death,—with his Vassals and Band,
 Who at Roncevalles⁸ fell, in the far Spanish Land.

When thus in their march, near the English they came,
 "A boon, Sire!" cry'd Taillefer, "for service I claim!
 "Long time have I serv'd,—and the boon thou dost owe,
 "To grant me the grace that I strike the first blow:
 "Other Guerdon I seek not,—but only this day,
 "That I deal the first stroke, that is dealt in the Fray."

"Go," answer'd the Duke, "thy request We concede."
 Then Taillefer dash'd on, putting spurs to his Steed.
 Careering in front of both Hosts, there he flew
 An Englishman, whom with his Lance he pierc'd through.
 Full in front, on his Breast, he inflicted the wound,
 And dying, his foeman was borne to the ground.⁹
 Then drawing his Sword, he another struck down,
 Crying out to his Comrades,—“Come, come, and lay on!”

⁸ It has been contended that Wace misunderstood Taillefer's song, which the Latin historians call "Cantilena Rollandi;" and it has been further conjectured that what was meant was a song of Rollo, or possibly of Rognvald his father; that out of this latter name the French minstrels formed Rolland; and that Wace confounded him with Charlemagne's Paladin. See Sharon Turner's *History of England*; the Abbé de la Rue's late work, vol. i. 143; and M. Michel's *Examen critique du roman de Berte aux grans piés*, Paris, 1832. We must refer the reader to these authorities on the controversy. The probability we must say, however, appears to us to be, that the minstrelsy selected by a French juggler, to stimulate the army, (great part of which was, in fact, strictly French,) would be French, both in subject and language. Wace perfectly well knew the race of juggleors and their themes, which he quotes; as in the case of William Longue-espée, of whose deeds he says, "a jogleors oï en m'effance chanter."

⁹ It has been remarked, as somewhat singular, that Wace should omit a circumstance calculated to add to the poetic effect of his story; namely, Taillefer's sleight of hand exhibition, related by other historians as having been played off by him in front of the two armies. Perhaps Wace's abstinence, in this and other cases which might be noticed, (after his history reaches the boundary of more authentic evidence than his earlier chronicle had had to deal with,) is in favour of his credibility, under circumstances where he had the means of obtaining accurate information.

Dunc l'unt Engleiz avironé ;
 Al secund colp k'il out doné,
 Eis vos^r noife levé è cri,
 D'ambedui pars pople estormi.^s
 Normanz à assaillir entendent,
 E li Engleiz bien se defendent ;
 Li uns fierent, li altres botent,^t
 Tant sunt hardi ne s'entre dotent.
 Eis vos la bataille assemblée,
 Dunc encore est grant renommée ;
 Mult oïffiez grant cornéiz,^u
 E de lances grant froifféiz,^v
 De machues grant feréiz,^w
 E d'espées grant chapléiz.^x
 A la feie Engleiz ruferent,
 Et à la feie retornerent,^y
 E cil d'ultre mer assaïlleient,
 E bien sovent se retraeient.^z
 Normanz escrient : Dex aïe ;^a
 La gent englesche : Ut^b s'escrie :
 Lors véïffiez entre ferjanz,^c
 Gelde^d d'Engleiz è de Normanz,
 Granz barates^e è granz medlées,
 Buz de lances è colps d'espées.
 Quant Engleiz cheient, Normanz crient,
 De paroles se cuntralient,
 E mult sovent s'entre défient,
 Maiz ne sevent ke s'entre dient ;

Cris de guerre
 des deux armées.

^r Voilà.

^s Des deux parts, peuple en émotion.

^t Les uns frappent, les autres poussent.

^u Bruit des cors.

^v Chocs.

^w Frappemens.

^x Cliquetis.

^y Parfois Anglais reculèrent, et parfois revinrent en avant.

^z Se retirent.

^a Dieu aide.

^b Hors d'ici.

^c Hommes de guerre.

As he combated thus, he was fairly hemm'd in,
 And so did the storm of the Battle begin.
 Then the Cry and the Tumult of combat arofe,
 As the two Hosts prepar'd for the Shock, and the Clofe.
 While the Normans prefs'd onward, and made their Attack,
 The English strove manfully, driving them back.
 There was cutting, and thrusting, and urging along,
 None shrunk or hung back from the struggle and Throng.

Lo the Battle was join'd!—and 'twas fought on that Plain,
 Which its glories and fame shall for ever retain.
 Horns founded, and Lances were splinter'd and crash'd,
 On Helms, and on Bucklers, the weighty Clubs dash'd ;
 Swords clash'd, and the English one while seem'd to yield,
 Then rally'd, and rush'd back again to the Field.
 Oft the Normans advanc'd, and as oft they recoil'd,
 And were forc'd to retreat, by gallant Foes foil'd.
 “ God aid ! ” loudly rose as the Norman War-cry ;
 “ Out, out ! ”¹ cry'd the Saxon, in scornful reply.
 Then, too, might be seen, how by Men of each side,
 Feints of War, and main force, were alternately try'd.
 And Serjeants, and Footmen, with Lance or with Sword,
 Were thrusting or smiting, as space might afford.
 When an Englishman falls, then the Normans exult,
 And each side the other by words doth insult.
 Defiance and challenge were oft made ; but each
 Knew not what his Foeman might mean by his speech.

^d Gens de pied armés de lances, et quelquefois de bâtons ferrés.

^e Rufes.

¹ OUT. In the MS. of the British Museum, a letter has evidently been erased before “ ut,” the present reading. An addition to the text, which is found in the MS. 6987 of the Bib. Royale at Paris, seems to determine what word is meant :—

Cou est l'enfegne que jou di
 Quant Engles saient hors a cri.

Hardiz fierent, cuarz s'esmaient ;^f
 Normanz dient k'Engleiz abaient,^g
 Por la parole k'il n'entendent.
 Cil empierent è cil amendent,
 Hardiz fierent, cuarz gandissent
 Come hoems font ki escremissent.^h
 A l'affaillir Normanz entendent,
 E li Engleiz bien se defendent,
 Hauberz percent et escuz fendent,
 Granz colps reçoivent, granz colps rendent ;
 Cil vunt avant, cil se retraient ;
 De mainte guise s'entre assaïent.ⁱ

Les Normands
 font repoussés
 vers le fossé,
 qu'ils avaient
 franchi.

En la champaigne out un fossé ;
 Normanz l'aveient adossé ;
 En belliant^k l'orent passé,
 Ne l'aveient mie esgardé.
 Engleiz unt tant Normanz hasté,
 E tant empeint è tant boté,^l
 El fossé les unt fet rufer,^m
 Chevals è homes jambeter :ⁿ
 Mult véissiez homes tumber,
 Li uns for li altres verfer,
 E tresbuchier et adenter ;^o
 Ne s'en poeient relever.

^f Se troublent.

^g Aboient, jappent.

^h Les hardis frappent, les couarts s'esquivent comme gens effrayés.

ⁱ S'entre-attaquent.

^k En combattant.

^l Et tant chargés, et tant poussés.

^m Reculer.

ⁿ Tomber, culbuter.

^o Tomber à dents, le visage contre terre.

² Though the details vary much, all the historians attribute great loss to circumstances of this sort. *William of Poitiers* distinguishes,—and perhaps Wace also meant to do so,—between the fosse which guarded the English camp, and other fosses into which the Nor-

"These Saxon Dogs bark!" said the Normans, for they
Little guess'd what the tongue of these Strangers would say.

Whilst Cowards stood trembling,—the brave Man took heart,
And if some were base,—others play'd well their part.
The craven in spirit shrunk back from the Fray,
The brave bore the burthen and brunt of the day.
Whilst Normans show'd prowess in urging th' Attack,
The English stood firmly, and oft drove them back.
Many Hauberks they pierce, many Bucklers they cleave,
And return stroke for stroke, for the blows they receive.
Some boldly push forward, while some their Posts yield,
And oft chang'd the fortune of War, on that Field.

Now the Normans advancing, to make their Attack,
Had pass'd o'er a Fosse² in the Plain, in their track.
That Fosse, scarcely notic'd, they pass'd without fear,
So that while the Fight rag'd, there it lay in their Rear.
Resistance so stout did the English here make,
That a move in retreat must the Norman Force take;
Horse and Foot, to that Fosse were thrust back, pell mell,
And there, in confusion, they stumbled and fell.
A crush'd Mass they lay, in that Trench on the Plain,
And numbers sunk down, ne'er to rise up again.

mans fell in the pursuit. The *Chronicle* of Battle Abbey (MS. Cott. Dom. ii.), speaking of the principal fosse, says "quod quidem baratrum, fortito ex accidenti vocabulo, *Malfossed* hodieque nuncupatur." *Benoit* attributes great loss to a report of William's fall, where-upon he,

Son chef desarme en la bataille
E del heaume e de la ventaille.

Count Eustace is here introduced by *Benoit* as strongly exhorting the duke to escape from the field, considering the battle as lost beyond recovery. He however rallies his men, and triumphs over the English, whose ranks had broken in the pursuit. No stratagem in this respect is noticed by *Benoit*.

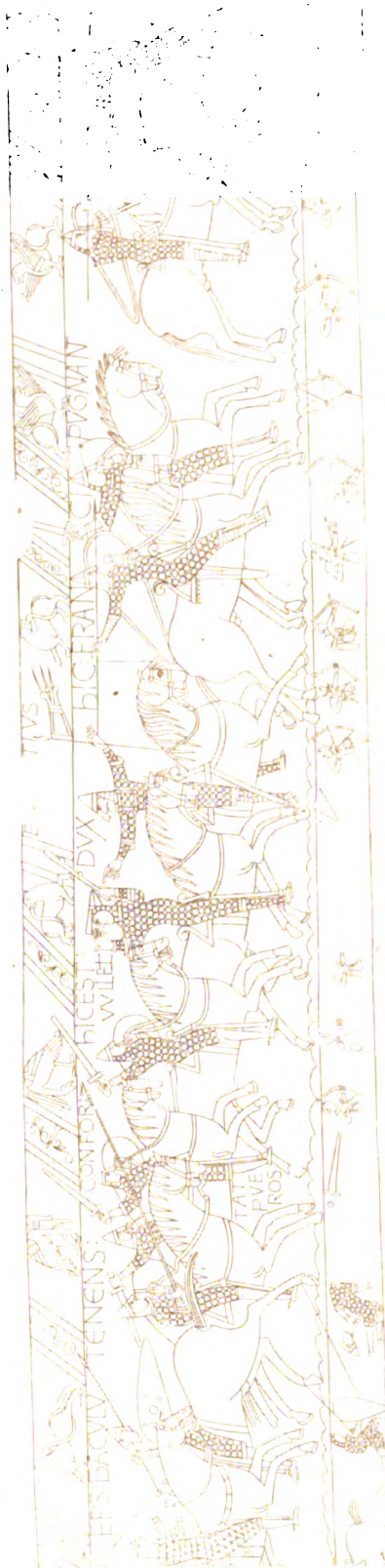
Défordre et carnage des Normands dans le fossé.

L'effroi se répand parmi les valets qui gardaient les bagages.

Odon, évêque de Bayeux, calme leur frayeur.

Odon revient dans la mêlée encourager et diriger les combattans.

Des Engleiz i moreit afez,
 Ke Normanz unt od els tirez.^p
 En tut li jor n'out mie tant
 En la bataille occiz Normant,
 Com el fossé dedenz périrent,
 Co distrent ki li morz virent.
 Vasletz ki as herneiz esteient,
 E li herneiz garder debveient,
 Voldrent guerpier tut li herneiz.
 Por li damage des Franceiz,
 K'el fossé virent tresbuchier,
 Ki ne poeient redrecier ;
 Forment furent espoenté,
 Por poi k'il ne s'en sunt torné ;
 Li herneiz voleient guerpier,
 Ne faveient kel part garir.^q
 Quant Odes li boen corunez,^r
 Ki de Baieues ert sacrez,^s
 Pointst, si lor dist : Estez, estez ;^t
 Séiez en paiz, ne vos movez ;
 N'aiez poor de nule rien,
 Kar se Dex plaist nos veincron bien.
 Iffi furent asséuré,
 Ne se sunt mie remué.
 Odes revint puignant^u arière
 U la bataille esteit plus fière,
 Forment i a li jor valu.
 Un haubergeon avait vestu,
 De for une chemise blanche,^v
 Lé^w fut li cors, juste la manche ;
 Sor un cheval tot blanc féeit,
 Tote la gent le congnoisseit.
 Un baston teneit en son poing ;
 Là ù véeit li grant befoing,



Not few of the English there, too, did death clasp,
 In the fatal embrace of some Norman's last grasp.
 Nowhere in the field,³ or throughout the whole fight,
 Died so many Normans,⁴ as there fell in flight ;
 And corse upon corse, in that bloody Trench lay,
 As was seen, when they gather'd the slain on that day.

The Servitors, station'd the Harnes to guard,
 O'er the Stores in reserve, to keep watch and ward,
 When they saw such discomfiture fall on the French,
 And how they retreated, and fell in the Trench,
 How powerless there, they were press'd more and more,
 Unable to stand, or the Fight to restore ;
 Were seiz'd with a Panic, and casting about,
 They thought to seek safety in Flight, and in Rout.
 When Odo, the Bishop of Bayeux so bold,
 Gallop'd up, crying out to them,—“ Hold, my Men, hold !
 “ Fear nothing, and stir not, stand fast, be at ease,
 “ We shall yet win the Day, if The Lord it so please !”

Wace frequently
 so designates his
 countrymen.

Then they reassur'd,—stood and watch'd the Strife wag'd,
 Whilst Odo spurr'd back, where the Fight hottest rag'd.

Good service he render'd that day in the Fight,
 In a Shirt of bright Mail, with Sleeves fitting tight,
 But large in the Waist, o'er his Alb of pure white.
 Milk white was the Steed which the Bishop bestrode,
 And ev'ry soul knew him, wherever he rode.
 No Weapon he bore, but a Staff⁵ in his hand :

^p Ont entraînés avec eux.

^q Se mettre à l'abri, en sûreté.

^r Couronné, tonsuré.

^s Qui de Bayeux était évêque.

^t Restez, restez.

^u Galopant.

^v Aube.

^w Large.

³ Ibi nimirum ut ferunt ferme xv millia perierunt.—WILL. CALCULI GEMMETICENSIS MONACHI, *Hist. Normannorum*, Lib. vii. p. 287.

⁴ Tot ibi inimicorum conculcavere ut cumulo cadaverum planiciem campi æquarent. *Continuation of Bede—(anonymous)*, p. 333. Ed. Heidelberg, 1587.

⁵ Baculum tenens ; vide Tapestry.

Les succès sont
balancés depuis
neuf heures jus-
qu'à trois.

Expédient em-
ployé par les
archers nor-
mands pour faire
porter leurs
flèches.

Succès de cet
expédient.

Fafeit li chevaliers torner,
E là les fafeit arrester ;
Sovent les fafeit assaillir,
E sovent les fafeit férir.
Dez ke tierce del jor entra,^x
Ke la bataille comença,
De fi ke none trespas^y
Fust si de fi, fust si de là,
Ke nus ne sout le quel veincreit,
Ne ki la terre cunquerreit.
De tutes parz si se teneient,
E si sovent se cumbateient,
Ke nus ne saveit deviner
Ki debveit l'altre formonter.
Normanz archiers ki ars teneient,
As Engleiz mult espez traieient,^z
Maiz de lor escuz se covreient,
Ke en char férir nes' poeient ;
Ne por viser, ne por bien traire,
Ne lor poeient nul mal faire.
Cunseil pristrent ke halt traieient ;
Quant li faetes descendreient,
De for lor testes dreit charreient,^a
Et as viaires les ferreient.^b
Cel cunseil ont li archier fait,
Sor li Engleis unt en halt trait ;
Quant li faetes reveneient,
De for les testes lor chaeient,
Chiés è viaires^c lor perçoent,
Et à plusors les oilz crevoent ;

^x Neuf heures du matin.

^z Tiraient très épais aux Anglais.

^b Et au visage les frapperaient.

^y Jusqu'à trois heures passées.

^a Sur leurs têtes droit tomberaient.

^c Têtes et visages.

He wheel'd the Knight's Squadrons, or fast bade them stand;
 Or if in their Order he mark'd a default,
 Caus'd the ranks to close up, and urg'd on th' assault.

From nine in the Morn,⁶ when the Battle began,
 Till past Three at ev'ning, the Fight doubtful ran.
 None knew who should conquer,—or who the Land gain;⁷
 So well match'd a Contest, did both sides maintain,
 And Fortune kept balanc'd, throughout all the Field,
 That none might divine which Host would first yield.

Thick and fast though their Arrows the Norman Bows send,
 The Shields of the English their Bodies defend,
 And well as they Shot, small damage was wrought,
 On Men who to ward off such Weapons were taught.

So the Bowmen took Counsel to shoot to the Sky,
 That their Shafts falling down, with force, from on high,
 Might light on their Foe, as they stood there in Mass,
 And strike on their Vizors, or through Helmets pass.

Thus acting, their Arrows were all upwards sent,
 And downward came pouring in vengeful descent;
 Heads and Faces were wounded, and Eyes were put out,

⁶ Ab horâ diei tertiâ usque ad vesperam neutrâ parte cedente.—HIGDEN's *Polychronicon*, Lib. vi. p. 286. Ed. Thomas Gale, Oxon, 1591.

Ab horâ vero diei tertia usque ad noctis crepusculum adversariis restitit fortissime.—WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *Hist. Eliensis*, Cap. xlv.

Sub hora diei tertia bellum commixit et in cædibus ab utraque parte morientium usque ad noctem protraxit.—WILL. CALCULI GEMMETICENSIS MONACHI, *Hist. Normannorum*, Lib. vii. p. 287.

⁷ The author of the continuation of Wace's *Brut d'Angleterre*, says, as to the duration of the battle,

La bataille ad bien duré
 De prime dekes a la vespré:
 Unkes home ne saveit
 Ki ferreit vencu, ne ki vencreit.

Z

Harold a l'œil
droit crevé d'une
flèche.

Les Normands
fuient pour at-
tirer les Anglais
hors de leurs re-
tranchemens.

Ne n'osoent les oilz ovrir,
Ne lor viaires descouvrir.
Saetes plus espeusement
Voloent ke pluie par vent ;
Mult espès voloent faetes
Ke Engleiz clamoent *wibetes*.
Iffi avint k'une faete,
Ki de verz li ciel ert chaete,
Féri Heraut de fus l'oil dreit,
Ke l'un des oilz li a toleit ;
E Heraut l'a par aïr traite,^d
Getée a les mains, si l'a fraite.^e
Por li chief ki li a dolu^f
S'est apuié for son escu.
Por ço soleient dire Engleiz,
E dient encore as Franceiz
Ke la faete fu bien traite^g
Ki à Heraut fu en halt traite,
E mult les mist en grant orgoil,
Ki al Rei Heraut creva l'oil.
Normanz aperchurent è virent
Ke Engleiz si se desfendirent,
E si sunt fort por els desfendre,
Peti poeient for els prendre.
Privéement unt cunseillié,
Et entrels unt aparailié
Ke des Engleiz s'esluignereient,
E de fuir semblant fereient,
Tant que Engleiz les porfivront
E par les chams s'espantiront.^h
Si les poeient despartir,ⁱ
Mielx les porreient affaillir,
E lor force fereit mult pierre,^k
Si porreient mielx descunfiere.

They durst not look upward, or turn them about,
Nor lift up their Vizors, so thick fell that Show'r,
Like Rain, Tempest driv'n, by Wind in its Pow'r.

Then it chanc'd that an Arrow which fell from on high,
Smote Harold The King,—and put out His right Eye.
In His agony, wrenching the Point from the wound,
He broke short the Shaft,—which He dash'd on the ground ;
O'ercome with keen anguish, His body all bent,
His Head wrack'd with pain, on His Buckler He leant.

So the English oft said, and to Normans still say,
That the Shaft was well shot, which was shot on that day ;
For they deem'd that the Archer had done a proud thing,
Whose Arrow had put out the Eye of Their King !

The Normans discover'd, and found out at last,
That the Post of defence which the English held fast,
Was such as their Force was unable to take ;
And slight the impresson thereon they could make.
They agreed then, to feign a retreat from the Fight,^a
And concerted a movement in semblance of flight.
They deem'd that the English would follow, and thought,
That if from their Lines to the Plain they were brought,
There spreading abroad, from their Ranks they would break,
When offensive return they, (the Normans,) could make.
From their Works of Defence, if they once drew them out,
The chance was far better to put them to Rout.

^a Par colère arrachée.

^b Brisée.

^c A cause de la tête qui lui faisait mal.

^d Que la flèche fut bien tirée.

^e S'éparpilleraient.

^f Désunir.

^g Beaucoup affaiblie.

^h Tunc Dux innuit suis ut fugam simulant.—HIGDEN's *Polychronicon*, Lib. vi. p. 286.
Ed. Thomas Gale, Oxon, 1691.

Les Anglais les
pourfuivent en
les raillant.

Si com il l'orent dit, fi firent,
E li Engleiz les parfwirent ;¹
Poi e poi^m vunt Normanz fuiant,
E li Engleiz les vunt fuiant.
Tant cum Normanz plus s'esluignierent,
E li Engleiz plus s'aprochierent.
Par l'esluignement des Franceiz
Kuidèrent è distrent Engleiz,
Ke cil de France s'enfueient,
Ne jà mez ne retornereient.
La feinte fuie les dechut,
Par la fuie grant mal lor crut ;
Kar se il se fussent tenu,
Ke il ne se fussent méu,
Mult se fussent bien desfendu,
A grant paine fussent veincu ;
Maiz come fol se despartirent,ⁿ
E come fol les parfwirent.
Mult véissiez par grant veissdie^o
Retraire cels de Normendie ;
Lentement se vunt retraiant
Por fere Engleiz venir avant.
Normanz fuient et Engleiz chacent,
Lances aloignent, haches haucent.
Quant il furent bien esbaudi,
E par la champaigne esparti,
Engleiz les aloent gabant^p
E de paroles leidissant.^q
Cuarz, font-il, mar^r i venistes,
Ki nos terres avoir volsistes ;
Nostre terre avoir kuidaistes,
Folz fustes quant vos i entraistes ;
Normendie vos iert trop luing,
N'i vendrez mie à cel besuing ;

They did as they schem'd,—and the plan bore its fruit,
 For the English were tempted to move in pursuit.
 By little and little, the Normans drew back,
 While the English pursuing, came hard on their track.
 And just as the Norman Host march'd to their Rear,
 The English came on, pressing more and more near.
 And deeming the French in Retreat from the Field,
 Already repuls'd, and beginning to yield,
 They shouted aloud, as they rush'd o'er the Plain,
 They ne'er would return to the Combat again.

Thus the Stratagem took, and misfortune befell,
 Those trusting this semblance of Flight, all too well.
 If th' English their Post of advantage had kept,
 Nor rashly pursuing, their Breastwork so left,
 They had still held their own, nor suffer'd Defeat,
 Which now in their Folly they went forth to meet.

Delib'rate and slow,—mov'd with caution and care,
 Still semblance of flight, did the Norman Host bear.
 Their Stratagem, none of the English divin'd,
 And Axe or Lance brandishing, press on behind.
 Exulting, they scatter abroad on the Plain,
 Nor longer from taunts, and from Insults, refrain.

“Base Cowards!” they shouted, “who came here to thieve,
 “Our Lands, and our Chattels, to harry and reeve,
 “Evil waits ye!—O Fools, who from Normandy's Shore
 “Came here, from a Land which ye ne'er shall see more!
 “Far, far are your Homes, and your Greed, and your Will,
 “Comport not with means such as yours to fulfil!
 “Little boots your retreating,—unless ye can fly,
 “For wide yawns the Ditch where the Leap ye must try!

¹ Les poursuivirent.

² Se séparèrent.

³ Offensant.

^m Peu à peu.

^o Ruse, artifice.

^r A la male heure, mal à propos.

^p Plaisantant.

Les Normands
s'arrêtent et font
volteface.

Nouvelle mêlée.

Exploits d'un
guerrier anglais.

Nient iert mez d'arrière aler ;^a
 S'à un faut n'i poez voler.
 Filz è filles perduz avez
 Se la mer tote ne bevez.
 Cil escotoent è soffreient ;
 Ne faveient ke il diseient,
 Ço lor ert vis k'il glatiffeient,^t
 Kar lor langage n'entendeient.
 Al arefter et al torner
 Ke Normant voldrent recovrer,
 Oïffiez Baronz rapeler,
 E *Dex aïe* en halt crier.
 Lor erre^u unt Normanz repris,
 Torné lor funt emmi le vis ;^v
 Dunc véïffiez Normanz torner,
 E ès Engleiz entremeller ;
 Li uns li altres encuntrer,
 E cels férir è cels boter.^w
 Cil fiert, cil faut,^x cil fuit, cil chace,
 E cil affome, è cil manace ;
 Normanz encuntre Engleiz s'arestent,
 E de ferir Normanz s'aprestent.
 Mult véïffiez par plusurs places
 Beles fuies è beles chaces ;
 Grant fu la gent, la place lée,^y
 Estur espez,^z dure meflée ;
 De tutes parz bien se cumbatent,
 Granz funt li colps, bien s'entrebantent.
 Bien le faveient li Normant,
 Quant un Engleiz vint acorant ;
 En fa cumpaigne out chent armez,
 De plusors armes atornez.

^a Cela ne nous servira de rien d'aller en arrière.

^t Qu'ils aboyaient.

“ Unless when ye reach it,—ye drink up the Sea,
 “ Your Sons and your Daughters no more shall ye see !”

The Normans bore all,—nor indeed did they know,
 The import of that which was said by their Foe ;
 Nothing more was convey'd to their Ears, by such sounds,
 Than had they been only the baying of Hounds.

“ Dex aie !” (God to aid,) now the Norman Chiefs shout,
 ’Tis the signal to halt,—and to face right about.

For the moment is come, when the Normans once more
 Turn sharp on the Foe,²—and their Order restore ;
 Prepar’d once again to essay Battle’s brunt,
 Their close ferry’d Masses the English confront.
 This Norman Manceuvre soon brought on a close,
 And betwixt the two Hosts a fresh Combat arose.

There they cut, and give point,—Blows fall false or true,
 And some fly the Contest, whilst others pursue.
 Here Weapons are flashing,—and here striking home,
 And Norman, and Saxon, alike, meets his Doom.
 Whilst hither and thither, the many-fac’d Fight
 Sways fitfully, changing with Fortune or Might.

Who shall tell all the Deeds, or the chances declare,
 Which in that Battle Field, fell to either Host’s share ?
 Or the Episodes sing, which in Combat so vast,
 And struggle so deadly, on either side past ?
 In all parts, the Fight is with Fury maintain’d,
 Dread the Prefs,—dread the Blows on both sides exchange’d !

The Normans fought bravely,—when fending the Throng,
 With northern Axe arm’d,¹ with a Blade a foot long ;

² Leur route.

³ Ils se font alors tournés en face d’eux.

⁴ Pouffer.

⁵ Manque son coup.

⁶ Large.

⁷ Le combat épais.

⁸ Normanni enim converfis ordinibus reversi dispersos adoriuntur et in fugam cogunt.

Continuation of Bede—(anonymous). Ed. Heidelberg, 1587.

¹ “ Hache norefsche.” See note previous, at page 145.

Hache norefche^a out mult bele,
 Plus de plain pié out l'alemele,^b
 Bien fu armé à sa manière,
 Grant ert è fier, o bele chiere.
 En la bataille el primer front,
 La ù Normanz plus espez font,
 En vint faillant plus tost ke cers;^c
 Maint Normant mit li jor envers
 Od sa cumpaigne k'il aveit.
 A un Normant s'en vint tot dreit,
 Ki armé fu for un destrier;
 Od la hache ki fu d'acier,
 El helme férir le kuida,^d
 Maiz li colp ultre escolorja;^e
 Par devant l'arcon glacéia^f
 La hache ki mult bien trencha;
 Li col del cheval en travers
 Colpa k'a terre vint li fers,^g
 E li cheval chaï avant
 Od tot son mestre à terre jus.^h
 Ne fai se cil le féri plus,
 Maiz li Normanz ki li colp virent,
 A grant merveille s'esbahirent.
 L'affalt aveient tot guerpi,
 Quant Rogier de Montgomeri
 Vint poignant,ⁱ la lance beiffie;
 Onc ne leiffa por la coignie
 K'il aveit fus el col levée,
 Ki mult esteit lonc enhanftée,^k
 Ke il Engleiz fi ne ferist,
 K'à la terre platir^l le fist;
 Dunc s'ecria : Ferez, Franceiz;^m
 Nostre est li champ for les Engleiz.
 Dunc véiffiez dure medlée,

Il est tué par
 Roger de Mont-
 gomeri.

To the Van of the Combat a Saxon made way,
 With a hundred Men round him in Battle array.
 He was stalwart and strong, and good Armour wore,
 And proud were the Presence and Mien that he bore.
 Where Normans stood densest, he press'd to the Van,
 And swift as a Stag, through the medley he ran.
 There he and his Men ply'd their Weapons so well,
 That many a Norman beneath their strokes fell.

Fierce Assault on a well-mounted Norman he made,
 And a stroke with his Axe at his Helmet essay'd,
 But the Blow glanc'd aside,—and descending with force,
 Smote in front of the Saddle, the Crest of the Horse.
 So trenchant the Blade, that it sever'd the Neck,
 Nor till it struck Earth, did its sweep meet a check ;
 Horse and Rider fell prone,—but I do not well know,
 If th' Englishman ever repeated his Blow.
 The Normans who saw it,—amaz'd at such Feat,
 Gave o'er the Assault, and prepar'd to retreat.
 But Roger Montgomeri, mark'd well the Deed,
 And couching his Lance, he put Spurs to his Steed ;
 Little heeding the Axe which the Saxon swung round,
 He smote, and he pierc'd him,—and bore him to ground.
 Then he cry'd to his Comrades, “ Strike, Frenchmen, amain !
 “ Yet, yet o'er these English the day will we gain !”

Then again did the Tide of the Battle run high,
 And Death's work afresh did the Sword and Lance ply.
 Undaunted the English their ground still maintain,
 And slay the good Steeds,—cleave the Bucklers in twain.

^a Du nord.

^c Plus vite qu'un cerf.

^e Vacilla.

^g Le fer de la hache.

ⁱ Galoppant, piquant des deux.

^l S'étendre, se coucher.

^b Le fer.

^d Il crut le frapper sur le casque.

^f Glissa.

^h Resta couché.

^k Emmanchée.

^m Français, frappez.

Un Français tue
deux guerriers
anglais, qui fai-
saient un grand
carnage dans les
rangs normands.

Maint colp de lance è maint d'espée.
E véiffiez Engleiz desfendre,
Chevals tuer et escuz fendre.
Un foldéier i out de France
Ki fu de noble cuntenance,
Sor un cheval fist merveillous ;ⁿ
Dous Engleiz vit mult orguillos,
Ki s'esteient acumpaignié
Por ço ke bien erent preifié.^o
Ensemble debveient aler,
Li uns debveit l'autre garder,
En lor cols aveient levées
Dui gifarmes^p lunges è lées ;
As Normanz feseient granz mals,
Homes tuoent è chevals.
Li foldéier les esgarda,
Vit li gifarmes, si dota ;
Son boen cheval perdre cremeit,^q
Kar ço ert li mielx k'il aveit ;
Volentiers altre part tornaft,
Se cuardise ne semblaft,
Maiz toft fu en altre pensé.
Sun cheval a esperuné ;
Pointft li cheval, li frein lascha
E li cheval toft le porta.
Por la crieme des dous gifarmes
L'escu leva par les énarmes :^r
Un des Engleiz féri tot dreit,
Od la lance ke il teneit,
Soz li menton en la petrine ;
Li fer passa parmi l'eschine.
Endementrez ke il verfa,^s
Sa lance chaï è froiffa,
Et il a le gibet^t feifi,

A Soldier there fought who in France had his birth,
 Of right noble Mien, and a Warrior of worth.
 A Steed of pure blood on that day did he ride,
 And mark'd how two Saxons were moving in pride ;
 Who as Brothers in arms, were together allied.
 Together they battled, and fought in the Field,
 Each bound him the other from danger to shield.
 With long-hafted Axes, they both of them fought,
 And dread was the slaughter of Normans they wrought.
 Men and Horses they flew,—and beholding their force,
 The Soldier felt fear, for the fate of his Horse.
 'Twas the best Steed he had,—and if without stain
 To his name and his honour, elsewhere on the Plain,
 His arms he might turn, right glad had he felt ;
 But briefly such thoughts in his noble soul dwelt,
 So spurring, and giving his good Steed the Rein,
 Who gallantly swept in career o'er the Plain ;
 With broad Shield held firm, on his stalwart left Arm,
 As defence against blows from the Saxon Gifarme ;
 With the point of his Lance, which he carry'd in rest,
 He smote the first Englishman full on the Chest.
 Right through did the Weapon its vengeful course take,
 And back as he fell, in his Body it brake.
 Then grasping his Mace, he the other laid low,
 With skull batter'd in by the force of the Blow !

▪ Il était sur un excellent cheval.

¶ Deux pertuisanes.

† Par les courroies.

‡ La masse d'armes.

• Estimés.

¶ Craignait.

• Au moment qu'il tomba.

Ki à sun destre bras pendi ;
 L'autre Engleiz a féru a mont
 Ke tot li chief li casse è font.

Exploits de
 Roger de Beau-
 mont.



ROGIER li viel, cil de Belmont,
 Affalt Engleis el primier front,
 A merveilles pris en i ont :
 Ço pert as eirs ki riches font ;^u
 Bien poet l'en faveir as plufors,
 Ke il orent boens anceffors,^v
 E furent bien de lor Seignors,
 Ki lor donerent tels énor.
 De cel Rogier en descendant
 Vint li lignage de Mellant.
 Guillame ke l'en dit Mallet,
 Hardiement entrels fe met ;

Danger que court
 Guillaume Mal-
 let.

^u Cela se voit à ses héritiers, qui sont riches.

^v Ancêtres.

² A few names have already occurred, such as FITZ OSBERN, RALF DE CONCHES, WALTER GIFFART, ROGER DE MONTGOMERI, the counts d'OU and of MORTAIN, ROGER DE BEAUMONT, TURSTIN FITZ ROU, the sire de DINAN, FITZ BERTRAN DE PELEIT, and AIMERI of THOUARS. The only chiefs mentioned by the Latin historians, and apparently omitted by Wace, are EUSTACE, count of BOULOGNE, and WILLIAM, son of Richard count of EVREUX. The case is doubtful as to JEFFREY, son of Rotro count of MORTAGNE—comes Moritonæ; not to be confounded with Robert, count of Mortain—comes Moritolii. Jeffrey is perhaps mentioned by Wace; see our note below on JEFFREY DE MAYENNE.

³ ROGER DE BEAUMONT; see as to him the former note, p. 33. *William of Poitiers* states that he did not join the expedition, but remained in Normandy. According to that historian and *Ordericus Vitalis*, the one present at the battle was Roger's son—the "tyro" Robert—who, by inheritance, took the title of count of Mellent. The British Museum MS. of Wace in fact reads ROBERT; though the epithet "le viel" is not appropriate to his *then* age. By their alliance with the Fitz Osberns, the earls of Leicester and Mellent acquired a portion of the Norman lands of that family. In the Red book roll we have, "comes Mell. 15 mil. et ad servitium suum 63 mil. et dim." "comes Leycestr. 10 mil. de honore de Gretemesnil, et ad servitium suum 40 mil. Idem 80 mil. et 4^m. part. quos habet ad servitium suum de honore de Britolio: et faciet tantum quod honor sit duci et com. in Fales."

HERE BEGINS THE ROLL OF THE NORMAN CHIEFS AND THEIR DEEDS.²

IN the Battle's first rank, and assailing in front,
 Rode Roger³ the old, who was Lord of Belmont.
 The wealth of his Heirs, affords proof to this day,
 What value was set on his worth in the Fray.
 For well may we know, that they came of good blood,
 Who so high in grace with their Suzerain stood.
 From him spring the Mellants,—so richly endow'd,
 And, with justice, of Roger their Ancestor proud.
 William Malet,⁴ so nam'd for his prowess and might,
 Dash'd fearlessly into the heat of the Fight;

Quia hostes in
 Prælio contun-
 derent ut *Mal-*
leo.

⁴ In reference to this Chieftain we find in the Appendix to Lanfranc:—

“Clarissima apud Caletes familia Maletana unde et illud Gallicum proverbium,

“Les Malets, et le Marteaux

“Sont les plus nobles de Caux.”

i. e. “The family of Malet is of the greatest note in the county of Caux, whence the French proverb, &c.”

William Malet received from the Conqueror large grants of land, for his services at Hastings.

In *Domesday*, it is stated that he fixed his residence at Eye in Suffolk, where his son Robert afterwards founded a monastery of the Cistercian order.

This Robert held in capite 298 Lordships, or the greater part of so many:—there are also numerous entries in *Domesday*, of lands held by his mother, and by his brothers Durand and Gilbert.

William Malet must have died during the compilation of *Domesday*, for under *Cidestan*, *Com. Suffolk*, vol. ii. p. 332^b. is this notice:—

“Ex hoc erat seifit: W. Malet, quando ivit in servitium Regis, ubi mortuus est.”

i. e. “W. Malet was seized of this place (Cidestan), when he proceeded on the king's service, where he died.”

William of Poitiers and *Ordericus Vitalis* state that William Malet was charged with the burial of king Harold's body after the battle of Hastings; for which, see Appendix.

The family of Malet de Gravelle, still existing in France,—and that of which the Translator is twenty-third in lineal descent in England,—derive their origin from this companion of the Conqueror.—A. M.

Il est sauvé par
les fîres de Mont-
fort et de Vieux-
Pont.

Barons du Beffin
et du Cotentin.

Néel de Saint-
Sauveur.

Od l'espée ki resflambie,^v
As Engleiz rent dure escremie;^x
Maiz son escu fi estroerent,^y
E son cheval foz li toerent,
Et il meisme éussent mort,
Quant vint li fire de Monfort
Et Dam Willame de Vez-Pont;
Od granz maifnies ke il ont
Le rescotrent^z hardiement.
Mult i perdirent de lor gent;
Mallet firent monter maneiz^a
Sor un destrier tot freiz.
Bien firent cel de Béeffin,
E li baronz de Costentin,
E Néel de Saint-Salvéor
Mult s'entremet d'aveir l'amor

^v Qui resplendit.

^x Escrime.

^y Percèrent.

^z Le délivrèrent.

^a Sur-le-champ.

⁵ MONTFORT SUR RILLE, arrondissement of Pont-Audemer. Four lords of this place successively bore the name of Hugh. It is presumed the conqueror's attendant was Hugh II.—son of Hugh "with the beard," (the son of Turstan de Baftenberg.) He was one of the barons to whom William, when he visited Normandy in 1067, left the administration of justice in England. The site of the castle is still visible near the bourg of Montfort. *Mem. Ant. Norm.* iv. 434. Dugdale's *Baronage*, and the *Introd. to Domesday*, i. 454, treat Hugh "with the beard" himself as having been William's attendant. See the pedigree prefixed to Wiffen's *History of the Russells*, and that in *Duchefne*. In the Bayeux Inquest of 1133 (*Mem. Ant. Norm.* viii.) "Hugo de Monteforte tenet feodum viii mil." The same appears in the Red book roll; where we also find "de honore de Monteforte 21 mil. et dim. et duas partes et 4^m. part." with other particulars.

⁶ Dam, or Dan—Dominus—is often used by Wace. ROBERT, not William, lord of VIEUXPONT, appears to have been at Hastings. In 1073 he was sent to the rescue of Jean de la Fleche. He came probably from Vieuxpont-en-Auge, arrondissement of Lisieux. The name, afterwards written Vipount, is known in English history. A. L. P. In the Red book roll "Fulco de Veteri Ponte 2 mil. et ad servitium suum 10 mil. et quartam partem." "Willmus de Veteri Ponte 2 mil. et ad servit. suum xi mil. et 4 part."

⁷ The Brit. Mus. MS. reads "*cil* de Béeffin," not *cel*. If this be correct, Wace may

With his bright flashing Sword, in the Ranks of the Foe,
 Destruction he wrought,—many Saxons laid low.
 Nor scathless himself,—for his Buckler was cleft,
 And the good horse he rode, of his life was bereft.
 As prostrate on Earth, fore beset, there he lay,
 His Comrades beheld the Foe close round their Prey;
 De Montfort⁵ bore down, through the thick of the press,
 De Vipont⁶ too, aided his Friend in distress.
 Fierce there grew the Contest that rag'd all around,
 O'er the Chief as he lay, 'neath his Steed, on the ground.
 Many Men did they lose,—but the Norman attack
 Succeeded—and Malet (the Foe driven back)
 Was gallantly rescu'd, and rais'd from the Plain,
 Remounted, and join'd in the Combat again.

Good service was done by the Men of Veffin,⁷
 Nor less by the Barons of Costentin.
 And Néel of St. Sauveur,⁸ his prowess put forth,
 To win his Lord's grace and show what he was worth.

here mean the viscount of the Bessin, RANOUF DE BRICASART, whom we have met at Valdesdunes.

⁵ Wace's annotator, M. Le Prevost, is incredulous as to the fact of NEEL de Saint Sauveur-le-vicomte (near Valognes) having been at the conquest. He was banished after his rebellion at Valdesdunes, and was subsequently pardoned, as his family afterwards held his estates; but no particulars or time are known. His presence at Hastings is vouched by no one else; not even by Brompton's list, where Sanzaver seems a variation of Saunzaveir or Sans-avoir, a family which settled in England. See M. de Gerville's *Recherches*, in *Mem. Ant. Norm.* *Domesday* is silent; but this does not appear conclusive, as he might have died in the interval; and M. de Gerville quotes on the subject M. Odolent Desnos, *Hist. d'Alençon*, i. 149; where it is stated, though without quoting the authority, that Neel was killed in 1074, in battle near Cardiff. The last Neel de St. Sauveur died in 1092; as appears by an account of his relation, bishop Jeffery de Moubray's desire to attend his funeral: *Mem. Ant. Norm.* i. 286, ii. 46. One of his two daughters and heiresses married Jourdain Tesson; the other was mother to Fulk de Pratis; Hardy's *Rot. Norm.* 16.

Le fire de
Fougères.

Le baron de
Ferrières.

Un Anglais tue
beaucoup de
Normands.

E li boen gré de fon seignor ;
Affalt Engleiz o grant vigor,
Od la petrine^b du destrier
En fist maint li jor tresbuchier,
Et od l'espée al redrecier
Véiffiez bien Baron aidier.
Grant pris^c en out cil de Felgieres,
Ki de Bretaigne out gent mult fieres.
Henri li fire de Ferrieres,
E cil ki dunc gardout Tillieres ;
Od cels Baronz grant gent s'afemble,
Sor Engleiz fierent^d tuit ensemble ;
Morz est u pris ki ne s'en emble ;^e
Tote la terre crole è tremble.
De l'autre part out un Engleiz
Ki leidisseit mult li Franceiz ;
Od une hache mult trenchant,
Les alout mult envaïssant.

^b Poitrail du cheval armé de fer.

^c Récompense.

^d Frappent, chargent.

^e Qui ne s'en dérobe.

¹ **RAOUL**, son of Main, second of the name, lord of **FOUGÈRES** in Brittany. He, or a second Raoul, founded Savigny in 1112. A Ralf held large possessions in England at *Domesday*; and a William held in Buckinghamshire; *Introd. Domesday*, i. 418.

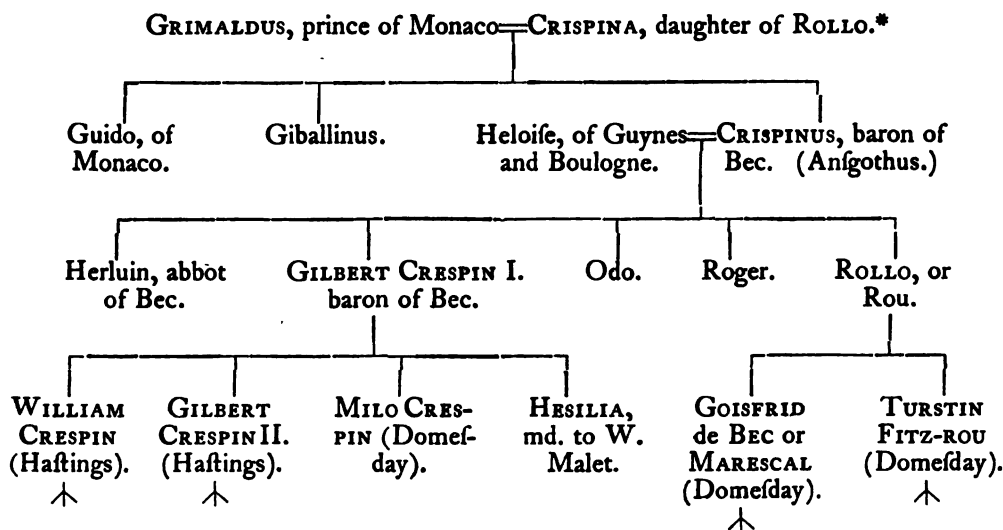
² **HENRY** lord of St. Hilaire de **FERRIÈRES**, arrondissement of Bernay, son of Walkelin de Ferrieres. The site of the castle is still visible. In England, Henry de Ferrieres received the castle of Tutbury, and other large estates; see the *Introd. Domesday*, i. 418, and the Ferrer's pedigree in Dugdale's *Baronage*. In the Red book roll, "Walkelinus de Ferrariis 5 mil. et ad servitium suum 42 mil. et 3 quartas—et 4 mil. cum planis armis."

³ **GILBERT CRESPIN** was then lord of **TILLIÈRES**, arrondissement of Evreux. The building of the castle is described by *Wace*, i. 335. He is considered to have been a younger son of Gilbert I. mentioned before by *Wace*, vol. ii. 3. 5; and must not be confounded with Gilbert earl of Brionne, guardian to the duke. In the Red book, "Gilbertus de Teuleriis 3 mil. et ad servitium suum 4 mil." With reference to this family, (embracing Turstin Fitz-Rou above mentioned, and William Crespin, who will soon occur,) Mr. Grimaldi has given in the *Gentleman's Mag.* Jan. 1832, some curious materials; bearing also on the probable origin of the Marechals. His pedigree is as follows:—

By his Courser's broad Chest, many Saxons, o'erthrown,
Were crush'd 'neath his Hoofs, and to Earth trodden down ;
And many a Baron, in peril of Life,
Was fav'd by his Sword, in that murderous Strife.

The Lord of Felgières,¹ also, won him great Fame,
With his stout Men at Arms, who from Brittany came.
So likewise did Henry, the Sire of Ferrières,²
And the Seigneur then Lord of the Lands of Tillières.³
These Barons great Forces together had brought,
And charging the Saxon, together they fought ;
Who fled not their onset, was captur'd or slain,
Earth trembl'd and shook, as they swept o'er the Plain.

Great damage the French from a Saxon befell
With a keen cutting Axe, which he wielded right well ;



This pedigree differs, it will be seen, from the usually received accounts, and in some respects from the genealogy in the appendix to *Lanfranci opera*, by D'Achery, which is shown to be in error as to Hesia Crespin, being *mother* of W. Malet, by the charter of the monastery of Eye, quoted in the note on W. Malet, in Appendix.

* This is probably erroneous—and *Crispina* was daughter of *Popæa*, wife of Richard III. Duke of Normandy—not of *Rollo* and the lady of the *same name*, by whom Duke *Rollo* had several children, though married to *Ghista*, daughter of the King of France. A. M.

Un chevalier
normand l'abat
et lui coupe le
poing.

Un helme aveit tot fait de fust,^f
Ke colp el chief ne recéust ;
A fez dras l'aveit atachié,
Et envirun son col lacié.
Un chevalier de Normendie
Vit li forfeit è l'estolties
K'il alout des Normanz faifant ;
Sor un cheval fist^h mult vaillant :
Eve ne feu nel' retenist,
Se li fire bien le poinfist ;
Li chevalier l'esperuna,
E li cheval tost le porta.
Sor li helme l'Engleiz féri,
De fuz les oils li abati,
Sor li viaireⁱ li pendi,
E li Engleiz sa main tendi,
Li helme voleit fuz lever,
E son viaire delivrer ;
E cil li a un colp doné,
Li puing destre li a colpé,
E sa hache à terre chaï.^k
Et un Normant avant failli ;
Od ses dous mainz l'a relevée,
Ke il aveit mult golosée ;^l
Maiz mult li out corte durée,
K'il l'out sempres cumperée.^m
Al beiffierⁿ ke il fafeit
A la hache ke il perneit,
Un Engleiz od une coignie,
Ke il aveit lungue emmanchie,
L'a fi féru parmi li dos
Ke toz li fet croiffir^o les os ;
Tote poet l'en véir l'entraille,
E li pomon è li coraille.

Suites de leur
combat.

A clean fwweep he made ;—on his Head he had plac'd
 A Cafque made of wood, to his Surcoat well lac'd,
 And fo to the Collar the Helmet was bound,
 That his head and his neck were fecure from a wound.⁴

Now a Knight of the Normans, the damage perceived,
 Which his Men at the hands of this Saxon received ;
 He was mounted that day on a high-mettl'd Steed,
 Which nothing arrested, when urg'd to his fpeed.
 So he gave him the Spur—and difcharging his Blow,
 He ftruck at the Helm, on the head of his Foe.
 The ftroke drove the Cafque o'er the Englifhman's face,
 Who rais'd his hand, feeking the helm to replace ;
 But the Norman again, with a ftroke of his Brand,
 Struck fharply, and fmote off the Saxon's right hand.
 To Earth drops his Axe, and there as it lies
 A Norman ftoops down, and would feize it as Prize.
 With both hands he grafps it—but little he thought
 The coveted Weapon with Life muft be bought ;
 For juft as he bent him, to lift up the arm,
 A Saxon, who bore a long-hafted Gifarme,
 Struck him full on the Back, and the Spine did difpart
 That the ghafly wound fhew'd the Lungs and the Heart.

The well-mounted Horfeman had wheel'd him about,
 And without any fcathe, from the Medley drew out.
 But he rode down, and traml'd beneath his Steed's feet,
 A Saxon he chanc'd in his courfe back to meet.

^f De bois.

^g Eftoltie, eftultie ou eftotie, fignifie folie, imprudence. Ici ce mot paraît employé pour *maffacre, ravage*.

^h Etais placé.

ⁱ Le vifage.

^k Tomba.

^l Désirée.

^m Payée.

ⁿ Au mouvement de fe baiffer.

^o Lui fit craquer les os, les lui brifa.

⁴ See note, page 147, as to the Englifh helmets.

Li chevalier al boen cheval
 S'en retorna ke il n'out mal ;
 Maiz un Engleis ad encuntré,
 Od li cheval l'a fi hurté,
 Ke mult toft l'a acraventé,^p
 Et od li piez tot défolé.^q

Énumération de
 guerriers nor-
 mande.

Li boen citéan de Roem
 Et la jovente de Caem,
 E de Faleife, è d'Argentoen,
 E d'Anifie, è de Matoen ;
 Cil ki ert fire d'Aubemare,
 E Dam Willame de Romare,
 E li fire de Litehare,
 E cil de Touke è de La Mare,
 E li fire de Néauhou,
 Et un chevalier de Pirou,

^p Endommagé.

^q Foulé.

^s ANISY and MATHIEU, two leagues from Caen.

⁶ AUMALE or ALBAMALE. See in the *Archæologia*, vol. 26, the materials furnished by Mr. Stapleton for the pedigree of the family holding Aumale during the eleventh century. Unless Odo, count of Champagne, was married before this time,—as he probably was,—to Adelidis, niece of the conqueror (and daughter of Enguerrand, count of Ponthieu, and Adelidis his wife, mentioned before, page 44), and was then possessed in her right of Aumale, we know no lord or holder of that fief at the conquest. Is it probable that Guy her uncle, who was released two years after the battle of Mortemer, on doing homage to William, held Aumale during her minority, which possibly extended to 1066? Either assumption implies that Enguerrand's widow was then dead, or that she did not hold Aumale, or at least that she did not after her daughter's marriage. The charter printed in the *Archæologia* treats the widow as having succeeded to the possession (whether from having dower in it, or as guardian of her daughter, does not appear), and her daughter as following her. Of course the most likely solution of this difficulty, and of Wace's vague statement, is that he was ignorant of the facts; in which he is not singular; *Ordericus Vitalis* also is incorrect in his statements as to the family. No particulars of the fief of Aumale are in the Red book; the comes de Albamara being one of those, who "nec venerunt nec miserunt, nec aliquid dixerunt."

⁷ ROUMARE—Rollonis Mara—arrondissement of Rouen. There were three Williams de Romare:—the first was earl of Lincoln; the second was probably the one in possession

There fought in that Fight good men out of Rouen,
 And brave youths who came from the City of Caen.
 The men of Falaife, and of Argentoen ;
 From Anify many, and Men of Matoen.⁵
 The Sire of Aumale,⁶ and the Lord of Roumare,⁷
 And the Seignor then holding the Fief of Lithaire ;⁸
 With the Barons of Touques,⁹ and of De la Mare.¹⁰
 The Sire of Néhou,¹¹—and a Knight of Pirou ;¹²

The reader will recognize the difficulties of bringing this list of names into verse or rhyme. As the Norman French text is printed with the translation, it is easy to verify any inexactitude. The names are generally spelt according to the notes. A. M.

when Wace wrote ; but the name of their ancestor, the lord who must have held at the conquest, was Roger. In the Red book roll, "Willmus de Romara 14 mil. in Romeis, apud novum mercatum : et si dux mandaverit eum alibi, ibit cum 3 mil. vel cum 4."

⁵ LITHAIRE, commune of Haie-du-Puits, in the Cotentin, on the coast opposite Jersey ; probably a Roman castellum exploratorium, according to M. de Gerville, *Recherches*, No. 39. He states that Lithaire formed part of the estates of the Albinis ; but it appears that after having belonged to Eudo cum Capello (before, p. 35) it passed to the Haies and Orvals in succession, or possibly to the latter at once ; see subsequent notes on those names. Possibly M. de Gerville's error arose from the family connection between the Haies and Albinis ; Ralf de Hayâ having married the daughter of William de Albin, pincerna.

⁹ TOUQUES, arrondissement of Pont l'Evesque, at the mouth of the river so called. In the *Monasticon* are found the names of Jourdain, Roger, Robert, and Henry de Touques.

¹⁰ Probably HUGH DE LA MARE. The family remained both in Normandy and England ; and is supposed to have sprung from the fief of La Mare, in the commune of Autretot, near Ivetot. A charter of St. Louis, of 1259, gives to Jumieges all that had fallen to that prince of the tenement of William De la Mare, knight, and of other tenements in the valley of La Mare ; but the historian of the abbey is ignorant where that valley was. A.L.P. Mr. Stapleton observes, in correction of this statement, that the great fief of La Mare was at St. Opportune, arrondissement of Pont Audemer ; the castle being built upon piles near the lake, still call Grand-mare.

¹¹ NEHOU, in the arrondissement of Valognes—Neel's hou or *holm*, (place surrounded by water, or liable to be so, as in this case)—"Nigelli humus" in charters ; see *Gallia Christi.* xi. This fief belonged to the Neel or St. Sauveur family, and afterwards passed to that of Reviers, and Reviers-Vernon ; with whom it remained till the end of the thirteenth century ; see M. de Gerville's *Recherches*, No. 17. Either the same person is again enumerated below by Wace as Reviers ; or some vassal or junior member of the family held one of the fiefs at the conquest. In the Red book roll, "Richardus de Vernone 10 mil. de honore de Nehalhou, et ad servitium suum 30 mil. in Constant : idem de com. Mort. 5 mil : idem 16 mil. de honore Vernone, ad custodiam castri de Vernone."

¹² PIROU, near Lessay, in the Cotentin ; see M. de Gerville's *Recherches*, No. 48.

Robert li fire de Belfou,
 E cil ki ert fire d'Alnou,
 Li chamberlenc de Tancharville,
 E li fire d'Estoteville,
 Et Wiestace d'Abeville,
 Et li fire de Magneville,
 Willame ke l'en dist Crefpin,
 E li fire de Sain-Martin,

William de Pirou signs as "dapifer" in a charter of Hen. I. A charter to Lessay in *Gall. Christ.* (temp. Hen. II. not Hen. I. as there called) names several lords of Pirou. See *Introd. Domesday*, ii. 347.

¹³ BEAUFOY, Beaufou, or Belfai—Bellus fagus. The site of the caput of this barony is in the environs of Pont l'Évesque. The lords of Beaufou descended in the female line from Ralf, count d'Ivry, uterine brother of duke Richard I. The Beaufou of the conquest is called Robert, both in *Wace* and *William of Poitiers*, but Raoul in contemporary documents; so also in *Domesday* we find Radulf de Bellofago; see *Introd. Domesday*, i. 379, 380. In the Red book, "Richardus de Belphago 2 mil. et ad servitium suum 6 mil. et tres partes."

¹⁴ FULK D'AUNOU, one of the numerous family of Baudry-le-Teuton, by a daughter of Richard de Bienfaite, mentioned below. The place in question is probably Aunou-le-Faucon (or Foulcon?), arrondissement of Argentan. See *Duchefne*, 1046; and some observations on the pedigree, in the additional notes on Wace at the end of M. Raynouard's observations. Aulnay is a distinct fief, and will be found afterwards. There was also in earlier times (see *Duchefne*, p. 1083) a Fulk de Aneio, or Aneto; who was of the Vernon family (the son of Osmund de Centumvillis, and of one of Gunnor's sisters), and derived his name from Anet, a little south of Ivry. The two Fulks or their families seem to have been sometimes confounded; they are so by M. Le Prevost, in his additional notes. In the Red book roll, "Fulco de Alnou 4 mil. et ad servitium suum 24 mil. et dim." The fiefs Danet and de Alneto appear there also separately.

¹⁵ The lord of TANCARVILLE, in the arrondissement of Havre, hereditary chamberlain of Normandy. His presence is vouched by no other authority. M. Le Prevost rather inconclusively observes that Ralf having been William's guardian was too old, and his children too young to be so engaged. Three sons have, however, been commonly reputed to have been at Hastings; from one of whom the Clintons have claimed descent, but probably without sufficient evidence. Ralf's age is hardly of itself a competent contradiction to Wace's statement; for his charter, giving the church of Mireville to Jumieges, shows that he was living in 1079. William, his son and successor as chamberlain, so appears in 1082. See as to this family M. Deville's *St. Georges de Bocherville*, p. 100. In the Red book, "Camararius de Tankervill 10 mil. et ad servitium suum 94 et 3 partes."

Robert Lord of Beaufou,¹³ and the Sire of Alnou;¹⁴
 With the Chamberlain de Tancarville;¹⁵
 There came, too, the Sire of Estoteville;¹⁶
 Eustace the Seignor of Abbeville;¹⁷
 And Geoffry, Lord of Magneville;¹⁸
 William nam'd Crespin,¹⁹ of Bec Crespin;
 And Walter, Lord of St. Martin.²⁰

¹⁶ There are two ETOUTEVILLES; the one meant appears to be near Ivetot, not that near Cailli. The received opinion is that it was Robert, the first of the name, called also Grand-Bois, who was at Hastings. He must have been young, if he was the same as fell forty years after at Tenchebrai, according to *Ordericus Vit.* 817. The Etoutevilles were established in England; principally in Yorkshire. A.L.P. In the Red book, "In balliâ Willi de Malepalet," there are two of the name, "Nichus de Stotevill 1 mil. de fœdo de Logis, et pœo, et 7 hospit. quos habet apud Fiscan;" and, "Willmus de Stotevill 1 mil. de fœdo de Dodearvill;" among those who made no appearance or return is "Robertus de Estotevill."

¹⁷ EUSTACE OF ABBEVILLE. There is a commune so named in the arrondissement of Lisieux, but M. Le Prevost thinks it more probable that Abbeville in Ponthieu is intended. Is it clear that Wace did not mean,—however incorrect the geography,—Eustace of Boulogne? It would be singular that he should not at all mention so important a person; yet he does not, unless he is intended here. Eustace of Boulogne appears in *Domesday*; see *Introduction*, i. 416.

¹⁸ JEFFERY DE MAGNEVILLE, in the arrondissement of Valognes,—whose name became in England Mandeville,—was constable of the tower of London, and earl of Essex. See M. de Gerville's *Recherches*, No. 15; and *Introd. Domesday*, i. 450. In the Red book, "Roger de Magneville 2 mil. et dim. et ad serv. suum 3 mil."

¹⁹ WILLIAM CRESPIN I. lord of Bec Crespin, in the pays de Caux. See our former note, and the pedigree; which is at variance with the assumption in M. Le Prevost's notes, that Turstain Fitz-Rou was not connected with this family. Dugdale, *Baronage*, i. 413, seems to know only one William Crespin. William II. was in the battle of Tenchebrai, opposed to Henry I.

²⁰ This may be WALTER DE SAINT MARTIN, brother of William Martel. Many communes bear this name; the one in question may be that in the pays de Caux or Brai. Roger de St. Martin occurs in the *Monasticon* in 1119, and one of the family founded Robert's bridge in 1176. But M. Le Prevost thinks the more probable opinion is, that the party here meant was Jeffry, son of Rainald, lord of St. Martin-le-Gaillard, in the arrondissement of Dieppe, mentioned in the charter of foundation of Treport; see *Gallia Christ.* xi.

Péril que court
le seigneur de
Grentemesnil.

Suite de l'énu-
mération des
principaux guer-
riers normands.

E dam Willame des Molins,
E cil ki ert fire des Pins ;
Tuit cil furent en la bataille ;
N'i a cil d'els ki mult n'i vaille.
Un vassal de Grentemesnil
Fu mult li jor en grant péril ;
Kar fun cheval li tresporta,
Por poi ke il ne trefbuchar^r
A un boiffun k'il tressailli :^s
Par li regnes li frein rompi,
E li cheval failli avant,
Vers les Engleiz ala corant ;
E li Engleiz ki s'aperchurent,
Haches levées li corurent ;
Maiz li cheval s'espoenta,
Ariere vint, dunc il torna.
De Meaine li vieil Gifrei,
E de Bohon li vieil Onfrei,
De Cartrai Onfrei è Maugier,
Ki esteit novel chevalier ;

^r Peu s'en fallut qu'il ne tombât.

^s A un buiffon qu'il franchit.

¹ WILLIAM, lord of MOULINS-LA-MARCHE,—Molendina,—in the arrondissement of Mortagne, was son of Walter de Falaife. The duke, in reward of his services, gave him in marriage Alberée, daughter and heiress of Guitmond, lord of Moulins-la-Marche. After having two sons, William and Robert, he repudiated her ; and married the daughter of Veleran de Meulan, being thus brother-in-law to Roger de Beaumont. He was in 1075 one of those sent to the relief of Jean la Fleche ; see *Ordericus Vit.* 533, 577, 890. The English family of this name seems to have come from Limoufin. A.L.P.

² FULK DU PIN is, in a charter to St. Pierre-sur-Dive, quoted as contemporary with the conqueror. *Ordericus Vitalis* mentions a Morin du Pin as living in 1080. This family, which had property in England, and occurs in the *Monasticon* (see Dunstaple), appears to have been from Pin-au-Haras, near Argentan. A.L.P.

³ HUGH DE GRENTMESNIL, now Grandmesnil, arrondissement of Lisieux, had been banished in 1063. He became sheriff of Leicestershire, and had other honours and many lands, and was associated with bishop Odo, and William Fitz-Osbern as justiciars. See *Introd. Domesday*, i. 408—429.

William the Lord of Molins,¹ in Mortagne,
 And the Seigneur des Pins² in Argentan.
 All these were present, and fought on that day,
 And all show'd their prowess and worth in the Fray.

Great peril in the fight befell,
 A Vassal, hight de Grandmesnil.³
 A Hedge there stood upon the Plain,
 Which his Horse leapt and broke the Rein ;
 All uncontroll'd the Steed made way,
 To where the English forces lay ;
 With Axes rais'd, the Saxons stood
 Ready to shed the Rider's blood.
 But the Horse shy'd, and wheeling round,
 His way back to his Comrades found.

Geoffry de Mayenne,⁴ an old and good Knight,
 And Onfroi de Bohun,⁵ were both in the Fight ;
 Two Seignors de Carteret, Onfroi,⁶ and Maugier,
 Were present, the latter a new Chevalier.

¹ JEFFRY DE MAINE. Although there were Mançeaux in the army, it is hardly to be supposed that "Giffrei li sire de Meaine" (*Wace*, vol. ii. 85), the active enemy of William (even if the title of sire de Meaine could then be applied to him), is the person meant here, as accompanying him to England. It has been supposed that the true reading should be Mortagne ; and in fact *William of Poitiers* and *Ordericus Vitalis* mention a Jeffery son of Rotro, count of Mortagne (comes Moritonie) as present at Hastings. Duchesne's MS. reads Marreigne. A. L. P. But see Dugdale's *Baronage*, i. 510.

² BOHUN, arrondissement of St. Lo, in the Cotentin ; where are still St. André and St. Georges de Bohon. The mound of the old castle remains visible. The Bohuns long after the conquest were hereditary constables of England, and subsequently earls of Hereford, Essex, and Northumberland. See the *Recherches* of M. de Gerville, and *Introd. Domesday*, i. 383. Ilbert de Chaz, whose tombstone is at Laycock, was a vassal of Bohun, and came from Chaz, now Cats, in the neighbourhood of Bohun ; *Gent.'s Mag.* Oct. 1835. In the Red book, "Engelger. de Boun 2 mil. et 6^m. part^m. et ad servitium suum 7 mil. in Constant." and, "Humphridus de Boun 2 mil. et ad serv. suum 2 mil. in Constant."

³ CARTERET, arrondissement of Valognes. The family has remained in Jersey and England ; *Recherches*, No. 14. In the Red book, "in ballivâ Osberti de Hofa"—"Philippus de Cartr."

De Garenès i vint Willeme,
 Mult li fist bien el chief li helme ;
 E li viel Hue de Gornai,
 Enfemle o li fa gent de Brai.
 Od la grant gent ke cil menerent
 Mult en ocistrent è tuerent.
 Et Engerran de Laigle i vint,
 L'escu el col, la lance tint,
 Sor Engleiz fiert de grant air,^t
 Mult se peine del Duc servir ;
 Por terre qu'il li out pramise
 S'entremist mult de son servise.
 E li visquens cil de Toarz
 Ne fu mie li jor coarz.
 D'Avrencin i fu Richarz,
 Enfemle od li cil de Biarz,

^t De grande colère.

⁷ WILLIAM WARREN, named from the fief of Varenne, in St. Aubin-le-Cauf, arrondissement of Dieppe. His English history as earl of Surrey is well known; *Introd. Dom.* i. 506. M. Le Prevost expresses his opinion that William was not son of Walter de St. Martin, as *Duchefne* styles him, but of Ralf de Warren,—a benefactor of the abbey of La Trinité du Mont about the middle of the eleventh century,—by a niece of the dukes Gunnor; Roger de Mortemer, the first of the name, being another son. In a charter to St. Wandril by the conqueror, there is subscribed as witness, "S. Rogerii filii Rodulfi de Warena." A Gilbert de Warena witnesses a charter to Jumieges in 1088. A. L. P. We have good authority for observing that the hamlet of Varenne in St. Aubin never belonged to the Warrens, but to a family named Neville or Neuville, the adjoining hamlet. The river was anciently called Varimna, and there was a town of the same name, which appears to have been changed to that of Bellencombre—Bellus cumulus—from the lofty mound on which stood the castle of the Warrens, their caput baroniæ. Warren is in the Red book one of the defaulters.

⁸ HUGH, lord of GOURNAY, who occupied the frontier district of Brai; an important post for the defence of Normandy. We find "Hugo senex," in a charter of Hen. I. who retired to and died at Bec; but this was probably a son of the one at Mortemer and Hastings. We may well expect to find him characterized as "old Hue," when we see Jehan de Flagy—or whoever wrote the old romance of Garin le Loherain, just published by M. Paris—boldly introducing "Hues qui Gourney tient," with "Anjorrans li fires de Couci," and "de Toartois le vis-quens Haimeris," as meeting "la pucelle Blancheflors au cler vis,"

William de Warenne,⁷ his own Squadrons led,
 And well fat the Helm on so knightly a head.
 There, too, in the Fight was old Hugh de Gournay,⁸
 And gather'd around him his People of Brai;
 By him a vast force to the Battle was led,
 And many a Foe 'neath their Weapons fell dead.

De l'Aigle⁹ was there too, a good Knight of France,
 His Shield on his neck, and his grasp on his Lance;
 No Knight did the English more desp'rately charge,
 Or service more zealously yield and discharge;
 For he fought by his prowess to 'stablish a right,
 To the Lands, the Duke promis'd, for deeds done in Fight.
 The Viscount of Troarz,¹⁰ as brave as his Sword,
 Came with Avrencin's Sire;¹¹ Biarz¹² fent its Lord;

at the court of Pepin, "a la cit de Paris." We find Hugh de Gournay,—probably the son,—a landholder in Essex, *Introd. Domesday*, i. 431; in the Red book roll is "Hugo de Gurnayo 12 mil. et omnium reliquorum ad Marchiam." See the history of this family, and of the junior branches which remained in England, in Burke's *English Commoners*, i. 484.

⁹ ENGERAND DE L'AIGLE appears to have been the son of Fulbert, the founder of the castle de l'Aigle, on the Rille, arrondissement of Mortagne. He was killed in the pursuit after the battle of Hastings; but his children had Pevensey and large estates. In the Red book, "Richardus de Aquilâ 5 mil. et dim. fœdo de Crepon in Cadomo;" and among the defaulters stands "Richerus de Aquilâ nisi pro fœdo de Crepun."

¹⁰ AIMERI, viscount of THOUARS, has appeared before.

¹¹ It is generally understood that not RICHARD D'AVRANCHES, in the Cotentin, (though living at the time,) but his son, HUGH LUPUS, accompanied the conqueror; receiving, in 1070, the earldom of Chester, to hold "tam liberè ad gladium sicut ipse rex tenebat Angliam per coronam." See *Ordericus Vitalis*, 787, and *Introd. Domesday*, i. 437. In the Red book, "comes Cestriæ 10 mil. de Sancto Severo et de Bregesford; et ad serv. suum 51 mil. et dim. et 4^m. et 8^m. Idem de fœdo Morton." In the inquest of Bayeux knights "comes Cestriæ tenet 5 mil. de episcopo fœdum," of which the particulars are given. Of Hugh Lupus *Gaimar* draws a striking portrait: as well as of others of these fortunate leaders. In speaking of an enormous guard of honour that William kept about him, when going from England to Normandy, he says:—

Il les tenoit ne fai pur quoi
 Car nule guerre il n'avoit,
 Ne de nul hom ne se cremoit:
 Mes par sa grant nobilité
 Avoit cele gent od foi mené.

E li fire de Solignie,
 E li boteillier d'Aubignie,
 Cil de Vitrie è de Lacie,
 De Val de Saire è de Tracie ;
 E cil furent en un conrei,^u
 Sor Engleiz fierent demanei ;^v
 Ne dotoent pel ne fossé ;^w
 Maint hoem unt cel jor enverfé,
 Maint boen cheval i unt tué,
 E d'els maint hoem i out nafré.

^u En une troupe.

^v Sur-le-champ.

^w Ne craignaient ni pieux ni fossés.

¹² LES BIARDS, canton d'Isigny, arrondissement of Mortain. William Avenel is probably meant, who, in 1082, was a benefactor to the abbey of St. Pierre-de-la-Couture at Mans; *Gallia Christiana*, ix. Instr. 107. See the Avenels again below, and our note there.

¹³ SUBLIGNY, near Avranches. There was a bishop of Avranches of this house in the twelfth century. Sublignys appear in Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset. See M. de Gerville's *Recherches*, No. 83. In the Red book, "Joannes de Soligneio 1 mil. et ad servitium suum 3 mil.;" and "in balliâ de Tenerchebraio—Joannes de Sologneio 1 mil. de honore de Gilleb'vill. et sibi 4 mil."

¹⁴ D'AUBIGNY, near Periers, in the Cotentin; where there are now two parishes, St. Martin and Christopher d'Aubigny. As to the Chateau, and that of Lithaire, see M. de Gerville's *Recherches*, No. 49—36. Lithaire, however, appears not to have belonged to this family. Dugdale, Blomfield, and most of our genealogists, are extremely inaccurate as to the early history of this family. Almost all state William d'Aubigny, or de Albincio, pincerna of Hen. I, who did not die till 1139, to have come with the conqueror in 1066; to have been his butler, and to have received his estates from him. From contemporary documents, particularly the charters of Lessay in the *Monasticon* and *Gall. Christiana*, the known pedigree commences with a William d'Aubigny, or de Albini, who married the sister of the traitor Grimoult del Pleffeiz; see the Bayeux Inquest. They had a son Roger, who married Amy Moubray, sister of Jeffery the bishop, and of Roger de Moubray. These had several children,—born probably about or soon after the conquest,—namely, William, pincerna of Hen. I. who married Maud Bigot, and was father of the first earl of Arundel; Richard, abbot of St. Albans (see *Mat. Paris*); Nigel, whose son took the name and estates of Moubray; Humphry; and Rualoc or Ralf. The subsequent pedigree of the Albini earls is correctly given by Mr. Tiernay in his *Hist. of Arundel*. Wace anachronizes in calling his d'Aubignie—boteillers. If one of the family was at Hastings, it must have been the eldest William, or his son Roger. At *Domesday*, however, Nigel, younger son of

De Solignie,¹³—d'Aubigne,¹⁴—the Sires Val de Saire,¹⁵—
 De Lacy,¹⁶—de Vitry,¹⁷—de Tracy,¹⁸ were there.
 These Knights altogether one Squadron did form,
 'Gainst the Saxon their Chiefs often led them in storm.
 Palifades and deep Trenches they force and o'ercome,
 And many a Foe at their hands meets his doom.
 Many more did they maim; many good Steeds they slay;
 Not one of them shrunk from his duty that day.

Roger, was of age and a landholder; having perhaps succeeded to the English estates of his father or grandfather; probably both then dead, as they are not mentioned. William pincerna, his brother (the founder of Wymondham), probably inherited the Norman estates, which were considerable; he appears to have had none in England, till for his services to Hen. I. he was enfeoffed, about 1106, of the barony of Buckenham (see Hearne's *Liber Niger*), to hold in grand serjeantry by the butlery; an office now discharged by the dukes of Norfolk his descendants, holders of part of the barony. If William the grandfather survived Roger, the confusion between the two Williams may have occasioned the errors of genealogists. In the Red book the earl of Arundel is a defaulter; and we find only his Bayeux fee, acquired by the marriage of his ancestor with Grimoult's sister; and "Willus de Albigneio in Barbavill," without further particulars.

¹⁵ VAL DE SAIRE is the name of a district in the Cotentin, arrondissement of Valognes; "là tut dreit u Sarre en mer chiet;" *Wace*, i. 318.

¹⁶ LASSY, arrondissement of Vire. Walter de Lacy was the conqueror's attendant, and Ilbert de Lacy is also said to have been present. Roger, son of Walter also is in Domesday; *Introd. Dom.* i. 431, 432; ii. 345. Lacie occurs again below. In the Bayeux Inquest we find "feodum de Lacey in Campellis (Campeaux in the Bocage) 2 mil. scil. Guilleberti et Henrici."

¹⁷ ROBERT, lord of VITRE or Vitry, in Brittany, was, according to the Breton historians, in William's expedition, and is probably here meant. There is, however, a Vitray-sous-l'Aigle, arrondissement of Mortagne; and as the name occurs again below, it is probable that one at least does not refer to a Norman lord. In the Red book roll we find, "Robertus de Vitreio medietatem de Ria in Baiocafino, et Trungeium et Caignoles et Duxeium in Boscagio."

¹⁸ TRACY, in the arrondissement of Caen, where are still remains of the castle. It was probably Turgis de Tracy who was at the battle. *Orderic. Vit.* 532. In *Gallia Christi.* xi. Instrum. 107, we find, in 1082, William and Gilbert de Tracy. A natural son of Hen. I. was afterwards called William de Tracy. Henry de Tracy received from Stephen the barony of Barnstaple. A. L. P. In the Red book, "Turgillus de Trafeio 2 mil. et ad servit. suum 8 mil." He subsequently occurs as "Turgis de Traceio," besides "Willmus de Traceio," and "Oliverus de Traceio."

Hue li fire de Montfort,
 Cil d'Espine è cil de Port,
 Cil de Corcie è cil de Jort
 I unt cel jor maint Englès mort.
 Cil ki fu fire de Reviers,
 Grant plenté out ke chevaliers;
 Cil i férèrent as primiers,
 Engleiz folent od li deftriers.*
 Li viel Willame de Moion
 Out ovec li maint cumpaignon.
 De Cingueleiz Raol Teiffon
 E li viel Rogier Marmion
 S'i contindrent come Baron,
 Poiz en orent grant guerredon.
 Jofte la cumpaigne Néel
 Chevalcha Raol de Gael;
 Bret esteit è Bretonz menout,
 Por terre ferveit ke il out,

* Foulent aux pieds de leurs deftriers.

¹⁹ HUGH DE MONTFORT, noticed above.

²⁰ PORT, near Bayeux. Hugh and Robert de Port seem to have been at the conquest. Gilbert de Port is found in documents soon after. Hugh had the Barony of Basing, in Hampshire, and his son Henry founded Shireburn. A. L. P. See *Introd. Dom.* i. 469. In the Bayeux Inquest, "feodum Henrici de Port feodum iii. mil." Enguerandus de Port is one of the jurors at this inquest.

¹ EPINAY is a common name in Normandy. M. Le Prevost thinks that Epinay-sur-Duclair, arrondissement of Rouen, was meant here. Its lords appear in the charters of Jumieges. In the Bayeux Inquest we have "Enguerandus de Espineto tenet de Episcopo feodum v militum;" and this would rather lead us to look nearer Bayeux. It seems by Hardy's *Rot. Norm.* that the fief of Epiney vested in Roger de Saint-Sauveur.

² COURCY and JORT are in the arrondissement of Falaise. Robert de Courcy, father of Richard who was at the conquest, was one of the sons of Baudry-le-Teuton. A. L. P. Richard de Courcy—Curci in Domesday—received the Barony of Stoke in Somersetshire. See M. Richome's notice in *Mem. Ant. Norm.* iii. 102. *Introd. Dom.* i. 403—412. In the Red book, "Will. de Curceio 5 mil. de honore in Curseio, et ad servitium suum 33 mil. Idem de honore de Ascoiol et ad serv. suum 17 mil. et quart."

³ REVIERES, arrondissement of Caen. M. Le Prevost, in his notes, states this to be

There was Hugh Lord of Montfort,¹⁹—the Seignors of Port,²⁰—
 D'Epinay,¹—de Courcy,²—and he who held Jort;
 Who flew many Saxons.—The Lord de Reviers³
 Had with him that day a good plump of Spears.
 Their prowess in front of the Battle was shown,
 And crowds of the English their Courfers trod down.
 Old William de Moyon⁴ a goodly Band brought;
 Nor less in the Battle, as brave Barons fought,
 Old Roger Marmion,⁵—and Raol Tesson,⁶
 And rich were the guerdons their noble deeds won.

Of Nobles from Brittany,—next those of Néel,⁷
 Rode those Knights, whose Leader was Raol de Gael.
 A Breton,—his Bretons he led to the Field,
 And service for Lands which he held did he yield.

BALDWIN DE MEULES—near Orbec, arrondissement of Lisieux—otherwise called “de Moles,” “de Sap,” or “de Brionne,” “of Exeter,” or “Vicecomes;” brother of Richard de Bienfaite after mentioned. He never bore the name of Reviers or Redvers, which, however, the annotator assumes, was taken by his son Richard. See *Introd. Domesday*, i. 377—473; also M. de Gerville, in *Mem. Ant. Norm.* i. 273. If, however, as we believe, it is a mistake in *Dugdale* and others to confound Richard de Reviers with Richard Fitz-Baldwin (who died without issue), the “fire de Reviers” is to be sought elsewhere.

⁴ WILLIAM, lord of MOYEN, arrondissement of St. Lo, where the site of his castle is still visible. He and his descendants, the Mohuns, are known in English history. See M. de Gerville's *Recherches*, v. 210. *Introd. Dom.* i. 453; ii. 355. In the Red book, “Willmus de Moyen 5 mil. et ad serv. suum xi.”

⁵ See note on Fontenay, below.

⁶ Three generations bearing the name of RAOUL TESSON rapidly succeeded during the conqueror's reign. Raoul I. was at Valefdune; Raoul II. is probably the one now before us. He married Matilda, cousin german of the duke. If, like his cousin Fitz-Erneis, he was killed at Hastings, that circumstance may account for his family not having formed establishments in England. A. L. P. The forest of Cinglais was one of the most celebrated in Normandy, and belonged to the honor of Tesson. There is also the castle of Roche-Tesson, in the arrondissement of St. Lo, *Mem. Ant. Norm.* v. 187. *Gallia Christiana*, xi. app. 333. In the Red book, “Jordanus Taiffon 10 mil. de Treverio, et ad servitium suum 30 mil. et dim. Idem 5 mil. de honore Scti Salvatoris, et ad servitium suum, 5 mil. in Constant.”

⁷ NEEL; see former note on Neel de Saint-Sauveur, whose “company,” as viscount of the Cotentin, seems to be here referred to.

Arche du Vaudreuil et de Breteuil.

Maiz il la tint asez petit,
 Kar il la forfist, ço fu dit.
 Des Biarz i fu Avenals,
 Des Mostiers-Hubert Paienals,
 Robert Bertram ki esteit torz,
 Mult i out homes par li morz.
 Li archier du Val de Roil⁷
 Ensemle od els cels de Bretoil,
 A maint Engleiz creverent l'oil
 Od li faetes acerées
 K'il aveient od els aportées.
 Cels de Sole è cels d'Oireval,
 De Saint Johan è de Brehal,

⁷ Le Vaudreuil.

⁸ RAOL DE GAEL or Guader, and Montfort in Brittany, "Ranols de Gader, le proz," in *Benoit*. It does not appear that Raol commanded all the Bretons, if that be what Wace meant here to say. He is known in English history as Ralf earl of Norfolk, whose estates were forfeited for his treason in 1075. From *Domesday* it would seem that both he and a former Ralf his father were earls under the Confessor; the father being repeatedly referred to in Norfolk as "vetus comes," the predecessor of "comes Ralf filius ejus;" and both holding lands in succession during Edward's reign. In one place we find "Rex Edwardus dedit Radulfo comiti." Was Ralf "vetus comes" the same person as Ralf Stalra; can he have held the earldom of Norfolk when the Godwins were in disgrace; and may not his son at his death have failed in succeeding to that earldom, and have then repaired to the continent, and joined William in order to recover his own English property? Ralf the elder no doubt married a Breton heiress; from whom her estates passed to the son; an Englishman of Norfolk on the father's side, as described by the old historians, though also of Breton descent and estate. See *Introd. Domesday*, i. 471; and Blomfield's *Norfolk* repeatedly, as to the possessions of the two Ralfs.

⁹ BIARZ, see note 12, p. 196. William Avenel, lord of Biarz, seems meant in both cases. The Avenels were seneschals to the counts of Mortain. A. L. P. See M. de Gerville, *Mem. Ant. Norm.* iv. 157. In the Red book, "Willus Avenel 5 mil. regi, et servitium 1 mil. de com. Mort."

¹⁰ This may be read either HUBERT PAISNEL, lord of MOSTIERS—or PAISNEL, lord of MOSTIERS-HUBERT; but the latter is more likely, [no Hubert Paisnel being known, and] the Paisnells having been lords of Mostiers-Hubert, in the arrondissement of Lifieux. The site of the castle there is still visible. *Ordericus Vitalis* mentions William Paisnel as one of the great men who died about the same time as the conqueror. He was perhaps [brother or] father of Ralf Paisnel, Paganel, or Pagnell, sheriff of Yorkshire. A. L. P. See M. de

But brief was his holding, as I have heard say,
For his Lands were by Forfeiture taken away.⁸

Biarz sent its Lord, who was nam'd Avenel,⁹
And from Moutiers-Hubert there came a Paisnel.¹⁰
Robert Bertram the crooked,¹¹ was present that day,
And many Men fell by his hand in the Fray.

Vaudreuil,¹² and Breteuil¹³ men, sharp arrows let fly,
And many a Saxon by them lost an eye.
From Soles,¹⁴ and from Orval,¹⁵ St. John's,¹⁶ and Brieux,¹⁷
Came Men well resolv'd both to dare and to do.

Gerville, *Mem. Ant. Norm.* ii. 280—308; *Introd. Domesday*, i. 464. In the Red book, "Hugo Paganellus 5 mil. et ad servitium ejus 6 mil;" and "In ballivâ de Passeis"—"Gervasius Paganellus 1 mil. et sibi 4 mil."

¹¹ ROBERT BERTRAM, the tort or crooked, lord of Briquebec near Valognes;—as to the picturesque remains of whose castle see Mr. Cotman's and Mr. Wiffen's works: in the latter is a pedigree of this illustrious family. Robert's brother William is also generally considered to have been at the conquest. A younger branch, from whom came the Mitfords, formed establishments, though not of much account, in England; it probably descended from this William; or from another William de Bertram, who stands in *Domesday* as a small holder in Hampshire; *Introd. Dom.* i. 382. In the Red book roll, "Robertus Bertran 5 mil. ad servitium suum 34 et dim. in Constantin."

¹² LE VAUDREUIL, arrondissement of Louviers.

¹³ BRETEUIL, arrondissement of Evreux.

¹⁴ SOULES, arrondissement of St. Lo. See M. de Gerville, *Mem. Ant. Norm.* v. 206. In the Red book, "Willus de Sola 1 mil. ad servitium suum 2 mil. de com. Mort."

¹⁵ ORVAL, near Coutances. In the Red book, "Willmus de Aureavalle 2 mil. et dim. et ad servitium suum 6 mil. in Constantin." See, as to this family and the next, the charters and the genealogy (though apparently incorrect) in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, under the head of BOXGRAVE.

¹⁶ SAINT JEAN, near Avranches, from which came the St. Jean who married the daughter of Robert de Haiâ. See note 6, p. 208, and the *Recherches* of M. de Gerville. BREHAL is between Coutances and Granville, and seems to have belonged to the Paisnels; M. de Gerville, *Mem. Ant. Norm.* ii. 278.

¹⁷ The British Museum MS. changes the number of the pronoun, and reads *cil* de BRIUS; not *cels*, as in the case of the three preceding names. M. Le Prevost considers Brieux—Broicæ—three leagues from Falaise to be intended. But this is doubtful. We are now clearly in the Cotentin; and Brix, near Valognes (spelt Brus in John's Itinerary, *Archæol.* xxiv. and Brucius in the Latin Legend, mentioned by M. de Gerville on Portbail, and in *Mem. Ant. Norm.* v. 318), seems more appropriate to the connection. See M. de Gerville's *Recherches*, No. 9 and 10, as to Brix and chateau d'Adam. Moreover the next

Cels de Brius è cels de Homez
 Véiffiez ferir mult de prez ;
 Li escuz for lor chiés² meteient,
 Li colps des haches receveient ;
 Mielx voleient iloc morir,
 Ke à lor dreit Seignor faillir.
 Cil de Saint-Sever è de Caillie,
 E li fire de Semillie ;
 De Bafqueville i fu Martels,
 De joste li cil de Praels,
 Cil de Goviz è de Sainteals,

place mentioned is Hommet, and the family of that name had a fief in Brix. There is strong probability in M. de Gerville's derivation thence of the Scotch Bruces, Adam being a common name with the Skelton line; but there were several names so nearly approaching in sound, though variously spelt in Latin, French, and English, that the subject may well be involved in some obscurity. Robertus de Bruis is in *Domesday*, *Introd.* i. 387.

² Sur leurs têtes.

¹⁸ HOMMET, arrondissement of St. Lo; see M. de Gerville's *Recherches*, No. 10 and elsewhere, as to this powerful family, and as to the castle, No. 125. In the Red book, "Jordanus de Humeto 3 mil. de feodo de Cl...? et ad servitium suum 13 mil." "Richardus de Humeto 3 mil. et dim. de honore de Humeto, et ad serv. suum 18 mil. Idem servitium corporis sui de honore de Bellomonte." Wilmus de Humeto is among the list of defaulters.

¹⁹ SAINT SEVER (in the arrondissement of Vire) may be here used to represent Hugh Lupus, as AVRANCHES has perhaps been for Richard his father. But the true reading of the text is doubtful. In the British Museum it is Saint Seg, written on an erasure, and followed by a mark of abbreviation; another MS. reads St. Sen,—which would probably be St. Saens; and another reads St. Saire (near Neufchatel),—St. Salvius, where was an ancient abbey.

²⁰ CAILLY, arrondissement of Rouen; referring either to Osbern de Cailly; or to his son Roger, who in 1080 made a donation to St. Ouen. William de Cailgi in *Domesday* might be a brother. A junior branch of the family was established in England; but was not of much account, till Thomas de Cailly married Emma, one of the coheirs of Sir Robert de Tateshall, and succeeded through her to the barony of Buckenham. See note below on Preaux. In the Red book, "Osbertus de Caillio 12 mil. de honore de Caillio;" and afterwards "in balliâ de Oxm."—"Osbertus de Calleio 2 mil.; scilicet 1 mil. ad f. custam. et alt. ad cust. dñi."

¹ SEMILLY, near St. Lo. William de Semilly appears in two charters about 1082. The family becoming extinct in the twelfth century, Semilly passed to the line of Hommet. A. L. P. The castle was an important one; see M. de Gerville, *Mem. Ant. Norm.* v. 232.

Le Hommet,¹⁸ and Bréhal, good Soldiers supply'd,
 Who hand to hand Combat undauntedly try'd.
 The blows dealt by Axes, their rais'd bucklers caught,
 And guarding their Heads, in close Combat they fought.
 Far rather, each Man would have died by the Sword,
 Than have fail'd in the duty he ow'd to his Lord.

The Lord of St. Sever,¹⁹ the Sire de Cailly,²⁰
 Were there, with the Seigneur of Semilly.¹
 With the Seigneur of Bacqueville,²—the noble Martels;
 There rode fide by fide, the Sire de Praels,³
 The Seigneur of Gouvix,⁴ and Sire de Cintheaux,⁵

The name of Semilly, however, occurs, very frequently, at a much later period than the twelfth century, in the charters in vol. vii. of those *mémoires*.

² BACQUEVILLE, arrondissement of Dieppe. The head of this family, in the maternal line, was Nicholas de Bacqueville, one of the six sons of Baudry-le-Teuton. His daughter, it would seem, married Hugh Fitz-Grip, or Hugh of Wareham; whose son, grandson, or perhaps nephew, was William Martel, butler to king Stephen, and brother of Walter of St. Martin; see his fief in Hearne's *Liber Niger*. See also *Duchefne*, 313; and a charter to Montivilliers, in *Gallia Christi*. xi. app. c. 329. Hugh's wife appears in *Domesday*, *Introd.* i. 502, 499. There is a Jeffery or Goisfrid Martel, one of the under tenants, *Domesday*, *Introd.* ii. 352. In the Red book, "Gaufridus Martell 2 mil. et ad ferv. suum 8 et tert. part." "Rogerius Martel" also appears there.

³ PREAUX. There are several communes of the name in Normandy, and it might be safest to refer this to one in Wace's neighbourhood. There are also two communes of the name near Pont-Audemer, where were two monastic foundations. Wace may, however, refer to the more distinguished fief in the arrondissement of Rouen, which was about 1070 held by the Eudo dapifer of *Domesday*, son of Hubert de Rie. The lords of Preaux were afterwards of much account in French history. They formed a branch of the house of Cailly, commencing about the time Wace wrote. "Ego Osbernus de Pratellis filius Osberni de Calleio" . . . appears in a charter in *L'Histoire de l'Abbaie de la Trinité de Mont St. Catharine*, p. 77. In the Red book Osbertus de Pratellis is among the defaulters.

⁴ GOUVIX, arrondissement of Falaise. The early history of the lords of Gouvix is not known; but Ralf de Goviz appears, in 1181, in the charter of foundation of the abbey of Barbery; he is also witness to a charter of arrangement with Fontenay; *Mem. Ant. Norm.* vii. 363; and see the same work, iv. 406. The castle stood on a rock, on the banks of the river Laïse, where its ruins are still visible.

⁵ CINTHEAUX, arrondissement of Falaise. The early lords of Cintheaux also are unknown. In 1181 the church is mentioned as given to Barbery. A. L. P. Richard and Ralf de Cintheaux—de Sanctellis—appear in the charter of arrangement mentioned in the last note.

Del viez Molei è de Monceals,
 Cil ki ert fire de Pacie,
 E li feneschals de Corcie,
 Et un chevalier de Lacie,
 Enfemle o els cils de Gascie,
 E cil d'Oillie è de Sacie,
 E li fire de Vaacie,
 Del Tornéor è de Praeres,
 Et Willame de Columbieres,
 E Gilbert li viel d'Afnières,
 De Chaaignes è de Tornieres,
 Li viel Luce de Bolebec,

⁶ See note below, on MOLEI.

⁷ There are many communes called MONCEAUX. The one meant is probably that near Bayeux.

⁸ PACY SUR L'EURE, arrondissement of Evreux. Pacy seems at the conquest to have belonged to William Fitz-Osbern. But there certainly was a William de Pacy in 1080, who possibly held under him. *Ord. Vit.* 527—576.

⁹ COURCY has occurred before. The lords of Courcy known to have held the office of feneschal were Robert, under the empress Matilda, and William, under Hen. II.; and there is no other authority than Wace's for its belonging to earlier members of the family. It is possible that one of the Courcys of Wace stands for Courceilles. In the Bayeux Inquest, "Gosellinus de Corcella feodum v mil. in Corcella et in Berneriis." In the Red book is a similar entry, substituting Rogerus for Goscellinus. He appears among the jurors, and is there called Gangelinus. Roger de Corcelles is a landholder in *Domesday*, *Introd.* i. 401.

¹⁰ LACIE also has occurred before. Here the expression is peculiar, "un chevalier de Lacie,"—which was intended perhaps to distinguish him from the superior lord, before mentioned.

¹¹ GACE, arrondissement of Argentan. Robert de Gacé, grandson of archbishop Robert, and son of Ralf "caput Afini,"—who was concerned in the murder of Gilbert count of Brionne—died without children before the conquest, and the duke seized his lands. *Orderic. Vit.* 488 and 681. Who held Gacé afterwards under the duke does not appear.

¹² SASSY, arrondissement of Avranches, near Pontorson. Jourdain de Sacey appears in a charter of Richard de Subligny, bishop of Avranches, about the middle of the twelfth century; and see M. de Gerville's *Recherches*, No. 93. A. L. P.

¹³ The cradle of the noble family of D'OILEY is, on the authority of M. Le Prevost and M. Galeron, to be sought at Ouilly-le-Basset, arrondissement of Falaise. Robert D'Oily was the one at the conquest. His daughter Maud married Milo Crespin, who had with her Wallingford castle. *Introd. Domesday*, i. 458; ii. 361.

Were near the Molay,⁶—and the Lord of Monceaux.⁷

There the Chief who held Pacy on Eure,⁸ too, was found,
 With de Courcy,⁹ the fenefchal, taking his ground.
 De Lacy's¹⁰ good Knight, with de Gacé¹¹ did ride,
 De Sacy¹² and D'Oily,¹³ were clofe at their fide.
 Sires de Vefcy,¹⁴ Le Torneur,¹⁵ and the Sire de Praères,¹⁶
 Were banded with William de Columbières.
 The aged Lord Gilbert, who was Sire of Afnières,¹⁷
 Had for Comrades, de Cahagnes, and de Tornières.¹⁸
 Aged Luce, too, was with them, the Lord of Bolbec,¹⁹

¹⁴ FASSY, arrondissement of Vire. Robert and Ivo de Vaffy—Vefci in English orthography—were in William's expedition, and fettled in England. A. L. P. In the Bayeux Inquest, "Enguerandus de Vaceyo, vavaffor, fed fervit pro dimidio mil." In the Red book is "Juliana de Vaacio 4 mil." In the *Mem. Ant. Norm.* viii. 28, William Vaffy and Robert his brother appear in a charter, which is afterwards quoted, p. 143, giving their names as Waace,—apparently the same name as the poet's.

¹⁵ LE TOURNEUR, near Vire. A. L. P.

¹⁶ PRESLES, arrondissement of Vire. In the Red book, "In balliâ de castro de Virâ," are "Joannes de Praeriis dim. mil." and "Mattheus de Praeriis 4 partem."

¹⁷ COLUMBIÈRES and ASNIÈRES are in the arrondissement of Bayeux. The lords of both are found in a charter of 1082, in favour of the Abbaye-aux-dames, of Caen. The lord of Afnières was then Ralf, who possibly had succeeded "Gilbert le viel." A. L. P. Ralf de Columbels, or Columbers, in *Domesday* held lands in Kent. In the Bayeux Inquest, "feodum Malevrier in Afinieres debit servitium dim. mil." The Malevriers were well known in England.

¹⁸ CAHAGNES, arrondissement of Vire. The lords of Cahagnes are among the benefactors of Grestein and Lewes. William de Cahagnes appears to have been in the expedition, and is found in *Domesday*, *Introd.* i. 390; ii. 360. In the Red book, "In balliâ de Tenechebraio," is "Radus de Chaineis [Chaagnes in *Duchefne*] 1 mil." TOURNIÈRES is in the arrondissement of Bayeux. Richard de Turneriis is, under Hen. I, mentioned in the foundation charter of Kenilworth. In the Bayeux Inquest, "feodum Ricardi de Tourneriis, ibidem et apud Hayum vavafforia."

¹⁹ BOLBEC, arrondissement of Havre. The printed text is "Luce." The MS. of *Duchefne* reads, "le fils Hue de Bolbec;" but the British Mus. MS. reads, "vielz Hue," which we presume is correct. Hugh was in William's service. He held under Walter Giffard, lord of Bolbec and Longueville, and had joined, in 1061, in the donation of the church of Bolbec to the abbey of Bernay. See *Introd. Domesday*, i. 383. He had two sons, another Hugh and Walter. According to Dugdale's *Baronage*, i. 451, there were two contemporary Hughs in England at the beginning of the twelfth century.

E Dam Richart ki tient Orbec
 E li fire de Bonnesboz,
 E cil de Sap è cil de Gloz,
 E cil ki dunc teneit Tregoz ;
 Dous Engleiz fist tenir por foz ;
 L'un od fa lance acraventa,
 L'autre od s'espée escervela,
 Poinst li cheval, si retorna,
 Si ke Engleiz ne le tocha ;
 E li fire de Monfichet,
 Ki de boz garder s'entremet ;
 L'ancestre Hue li Bigot,
 Ki aveit terre à Maletot

²⁰ RICHARD DE BIENFAITE, arrondissement of Lisieux. He was Fitz-Gilbert, as son of Gilbert earl of Brionne, elder brother of Baldwin de Meules above mentioned. He received Bienfaite and Orbec from the duke, as an indemnity for his share of the patrimony alienated during his minority. He became lord of Clare and Tonbridge ; see *Introd. Domesday*, i. 477, 494 ; ii. 395.

¹ BONNEBOSQ, arrondissement of Pont-l'Évêque. Ralf de Bonnebosq appears among the benefactors of St. Stephen at Caen. Under Hen. I. Gilbert de Bonnebosq was son-in-law of Morin du Pin, dapifer of the earl of Mortain. A. L. P. Red book roll, (de Baiocafino) "Robtus de Bonesboz 1 mil. regi de 3 mil. quos habet in Algiâ." Robert's ancestors are mentioned in a charter to Jumieges, *Neustria Pia*, 324.

² SAP and GLOZ, arrondissement of Argentan. Sap was, before the conquest, given, with Meules, to Baldwin ; of whom it was therefore held by whoever occupied at the conquest. Gloz belonged to William de Breteuil, Barnon de Gloz having been in the service of his father Osbern about 1035. William de Gloz, son of Barnon, was dapifer to William de Breteuil, and probably assisted at the conquest. A. L. P. In the Red book, "In balliâ de Tenechebraio,"—"de honore de Sap 1 mil."

³ TREGOZ, or Trois-Gots, arrondissement of St. Lo. The ruins of the castle are visible at the confluence of the Vire and the brook Marquellan. In Brampton's list is Traygod. His successors were benefactors of Hambye, and one of them signed the foundation charter of 1145. Ledyard-Tregoze in Wiltshire bears the family name. Jeffery de Tregoz would, according to Dugdale, *Bar.* i. 615, be the probable contemporary of the conquest. See De Gerville, *Mem. Ant. Norm.* v. 215. In the Red book, "Willmus de Trefgoz 1 mil. et dim."

⁴ MONTIFIQUET, arrondissement of Bayeux, where the ruins of the old castle are visible.

And Richard, the Lord of the Fief of Orbec.²⁰
 The Sires of Bonnebof, de Sap, and de Gloz,²
 And the Seignor then holding the Lands of Tregoz.³
 That day in the Battle two Saxons he flew,
 The one with his Lance-point he pierc'd through and through,
 The other he brain'd with his Sword,—and Retreat,
 Unscath'd by the English, made, after this feat.
 With a strong Guard around him, de Montfichet⁴ rode,
 And the Ancestor also of Hugh le Bigod.⁵

William de Montfichet was benefactor of Cerisy during the conqueror's reign; he was probably the son of Gilbert de Montfichet, one of the most authentic personages concerned in the conquest. A. L. P. But see Dugdale's *Baronage*, i. 438.

⁵ BIGOT. This illustrious family is traced no higher than Robert le Bigot, who was a relation of Richard d'Avranches, and quitted the service of Werlene, comte of Mortain, to attach himself to the duke; see *William of Jumièges*, vii. c. 19. In England, it would seem from the Chester charters, that some at least of the Bigots continued attached to Hugh d'Avranches (Lupus), though Roger was one of William's privy councillors, and treasurer of his house. His son Hugh became earl of Norfolk about 1140. The leading branch of the family became extinct, and the earldom ceased 35 Edw. I. Wace's assertion that Roger was seneschal to William is not supported by any other authority, of which we are aware; though from the grant to his son, *Dugdale*, i. 132, it appears that Roger occupied the office under Hen. I. Wace may be in error, confounding it with the high office Roger undoubtedly held in William's household. MALTOT is in the arrondissement of Caen; LOGES is near Aulnay; CANON is in the arrondissement of Lisieux. The earl of Chester's charter to St. Werberg—about 1094—in the *Monasticon*, is witnessed by, among others of "his barons," two Bigots, namely, Roger Bigod, and Bigod de Loges. A subsequent charter of earl Ranulf Meschines has a Robert fil. Bigoti. Bigot de Loges appears also separately in *Domesday*, *Introd.* ii. 350. Lords of Maltot, and also lords of Loges, appear in charters in vol. vii. of the *Mem. Ant. Norm.* In the Bayeux Inquest, "feodum Hugonis Bigoti in Loges et Savenaye vavassoria, sed serviunt pro mil. dim." In the Red book Hugh is one of the defaulters. The history of this family, their name and origin, seems worthy of more consideration than has hitherto been given. The usually assigned origin of the name appears doubtful. An important branch of the stock remained in Normandy. Jean le Bigot, or le Bihot, was a leading baron at the meeting of the states in 1350. We find Bigot, Bihot, Vigot, Wigot (*Domesday*), Wihot, Wigelot, all forms perhaps of the same name, which is generally used with *le*, or adjectively. On one of their Norfolk estates was lately found a signet ring of one of the family, exhibiting in the rebus—"by-goat"—a new variety of the name.

Et as Loges et à Chanon ;
 Li Dus soleit^a en sa maison
 Servir d'une fenefchaucie ;
 Mult out od li grant cumpaignie ;
 En fieu esteit son fenefchals,
 E mult esteit noble vassals.
 Cil de corsage esteit petiz,
 Maiz mult esteit proz^b è hardiz,
 E por ço as Engleiz hurta
 Od la grant gent ke il mena.
 Là oïffiez noïses è criz
 E de lances grant froïfféiz ;^c
 Encuntre Engleiz furent as lices,
 De lor lances firent esclices.^d
 Od gisarmes et od coignies
 Lor unt lor lances pefcies ;^e
 Et cil unt lor espées traites,^f
 Li lices unt totes fraites,^g
 E li Engleis par grant déhait^h
 Se sunt à l'estandart retrait.
 Là esteient tuit assemblé
 Li meshaïnié è li nafré ;ⁱ
 Dunc point li Sire de la Haie,
 Nus n'esparne ne ne manaie,^k

Les Anglais se
 rallient autour
 de leur étendard.

^a Avait coutume.

^c Froissement.

^e Brisées.

^g Rompues.

ⁱ Les malades et les blessés.

^b Preux.

^d Morceaux.

^f Tirées.

^h Déplaisir.

^k Ni ne ménage.

^g HAIE-DU-PUITS, arrondissement of Coutances ; near the abbey of Lessay, which was founded by Richard, commonly called Turstain Haldup, Halduc, or Haralduc, head of the family before the conquest ; see pedigree in Wiffen's *History of Russell*. Turstain's son, Eudo cum capello, or Eudo dapifer (though not the Eudo dapifer of *Domesday*), was, as we have seen above, p. 35, called into counsel by William. We know not whether it was Eudo, or, as seems more probable, either Ralf de Haiâ, fenefchal of the count of Mortain,

At Maletot, at Loges, and Chanon, were his Lands,
 Good service the Duke had oft found at his hands.
 He ferv'd for the Seneschal's Post, as his fee,
 And great Forces follow'd him, over the Sea.
 Tho' slight in his Stature, and wanting in height,
 His bearing was noble and gallant in Fight.

As again the two Armies in Battle's shock close,
 Fresh cry, and fresh tumult of Combat arose.
 The Normans once more on the Saxon Lines dash,
 Their Lances are shiver'd,—and dread is the crash.
 Gisarmes and sharp Axes the Staves cut in two,
 But then his good Brand, ev'ry man of them drew.
 The Barriers are forc'd,—but the English still fight,
 Defending their Standard in fullen despite.
 Thither wounded and maim'd, a helpless mass wend,
 And make one last struggle their Post to defend.

Charging home in the Medley, the Sire de la Haie,⁶
 Through the midst of the throng and the press cuts his way.

or Ralf's son Robert, who was at the conquest. The latter, as lord of Hainac in Suffex, founded Boxgrave; and had three children,—Cecily, who is stated in the genealogy in *Dugdale* to have married Roger Saint-Jean, and two sons, Richard and Ralf. Richard was taken by pirates, and his estates went to daughters. Ralf married a daughter of William de Albini, pincerna, and either by her or another wife left descendants. The notes to M. Pluquet's *Wace* seem erroneous as to this family; as will be seen by the *Leffay* charters in *Dugdale*, *Gallia Christiana*, and *Neustria Pia*; also by those of Blanchelande. A passage in one charter in *Gallia Christi.* thus supplies many particulars:—"Robertus de Haya, filius Radulfi, senescalli scilicet Roberti comitis Moritonii, nepos Hudonis, dapiferi Willelmi Regis." There is, however, much obscurity hanging over the pedigree, which we have no space for discussing. In what precise way the Haies succeeded to Eudo cum capello is one of the principal difficulties. As to the remains of their castle, see M. de Gerville, *Recherches*, No. 41. In the Red book, "Radus de Haiâ 2 mil. et dim. de honore de Plaiséis, et 1 mil. de honore de Mort. de feodo de Crienfiis, et ad servit. suum 6 mil. et dim. in Constant." The honor of Haya is afterwards mentioned as "Honor de Haia de Puteo de com. Mort. i. mil. regi."

E E

Ne nus ne fiert k'à mort ne traie,¹
 Ne poet garir k'il fet plaie.
 Cil de Vitrie è d'Urinie,
 Cil de Monbrai è de Saie
 E li Sire de la Ferté
 Maint Engleiz unt acraventé;^m
 Grant mal i firent li plufor,ⁿ
 E mult i perdirent des lor;
 Botevilain è Troffebot,
 Cil ne dotent ne colp ne bot,
 Mult fi firent cel jor d'air^o
 Willame Patric de la Lande
 Li Reis Heraut forment demande;
 Ço difeit, se il le véeit,^p
 De perjure l'apellereit.
 A la Lande l'aveit véu,
 E Heraut out illoc géu^q
 Et par la Lande fu passez,
 Quant il fu al Duc amenez,

Guillaume de
 la Lande-Patry
 cherche Harold,
 qu'il avait reçu
 dans son château.

¹ Ne tire.

^o De colère, de violence.

⁷ See note 17, p. 197.

⁸ ORIGNY. There are two of the name, one near Bellefme, the other near Mamers.

⁹ ROGER DE MOUBRAY, see note 4, p. 118.

¹⁰ SAY, arrondissement of Argentan. The lords of Say took the name or surname of PICOT, by which, as in *Domesday*, they are often called without the Say. In the Red book, "Alexander de Piccot 4 partem in Piccot." In the Bayeux Inquest is "feodum Guillmi Picoth feodum 3 mil. in Culeyo, in Traceyo et Leon, et Franca-Villula supra Rothom. et Montberton." Robert Picot de Say with his sons Robert and Henry were benefactors in 1060 to the church of St. Martin de Say. Picot de Say is found as witness to a charter in 1080 between Jumieges and St. Maximin d'Orleans. See also the foundation charter of Shrewsbury in 1085. A. L. P.

¹¹ FERTE MACE—(Feritas Matthæi)—arrondissement of Dunfront. A sister of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and of Muriel, the wife of Eudo cum Capello mentioned before, married

^m Affommé.

^p S'il le voyait.

ⁿ La plupart.

^q Couché.

Sparing no one, he flew with each stroke he made,
 Or wounded to death, with the Sweep of his Blade.
 De Vitrie,⁷ d'Urinie,⁸ de Montbray,⁹ and de Say,¹⁰
 With the Sire de la Ferte,¹¹—fought well on that day.
 Much damage the English befell at their hand,
 But they too, lost many good Men of their Band.
 Botevilain¹² and Trossebot,¹³ close Combat engage,
 Blows giving and taking, and fighting with Rage.

There was there William Patric, the Sire de la Lande,¹⁴
 Shouting challenge to Harold to meet hand to hand;
 By himself, (as he said,) should the King be appeal'd
 Of perjury, if they should cross in the Field.

They had met at la Lande, at his Ancestral Seat,
 What time Harold went there, Duke William to meet,

the lord of Ferté Macé, as we learn from Mr. Stapleton, and probably assisted at the conquest. His son is called in a charter quoted in a "vidimus" of an archbishop of Tours, temp. St. Louis, as "Guills de Feritate castro dñus, nepos dñi Odonis Baiocensis episc." *Ordericus Vitalis* mentions a de la Ferté as leading troops in Maine in 1073. In the Red book, "In balliâ de Passeis"—"Mattheus de Feritate 2 mil. et sibi 15 mil."

¹² The lord of BOUTTEVILLE, arrondissement of Valognes, was at the conquest; see M. de Gerville, *Recherches*, No. 24. Whether Bouteville in the Battle Abbey roll be meant for the same name as the Boutevilan of Brampton and Wace, is not clear. See the foundation of Pipewell in 1143. *Monasticon*, v. 431. There appear to have been Bouttevilles in Somerset and Bedford, and Bouttevilans in Northamptonshire. A. L. P.

¹³ The name of Trossebot—afterwards TRUSSBUT in England—occurs both in the Battle Abbey roll, and in Brampton. From *Ordericus Vitalis* it appears that William Trossebot was one of the new men, raised by Hen. I. from comparative obscurity. In 1132 Jeffery Trusbut, or Fitz Payne, founded the priory of Wartre, in Yorkshire. In the Red book, "Gaufridus Trossebot 1 mil. de serjanteria foresteriæ."

¹⁴ WILLIAM PATRY, lord of LA LANDE-PATRY, arrondissement of Domfront. See La Roque, *Histoire de la maison d'Harcourt*, and *La Chesnaye des Bois*. *William of Poitiers* makes William receive Harold at Eu; and the Bayeux tapestry, in bringing the count of Ponthieu with his captive, seems to vouch for the same account. Again, he says, "secum in Britanniam duxit," which may appear to clash with the literal purport of Wace's narrative; but probably these statements will not be thought very difficult of reconciliation. In the Red book roll, "Willus Patric de honore de Loanda 1 mil. et ad servitium suum 3 mil."

Les Anglais ne
savent point
combattre à che-
val ni se couvrir
d'une main en
frappant de
l'autre.

Ils se réfugient
sur une émi-
nence, où les
Normands les
poursuivent.

Ki à Avrenches dunc^r esteit,
Et en Bretaigne aler debveit.
Là le fist li Dus chevalier,
Armes è dras^s li fist bailler
A li et à sez cumpaingnons,
Poiz l'envéia for li Bretons.
Patric fu lez li Dus armez,
E mult esteit de li privez.
Mult i out Chevaliers de Chauz,^t
Ki jostes firent et affauz.
Engleiz ne saveient joster,
Ne à cheval armes porter ;
Haches è gifarmes teneient,
Od tals armes se cumbateient.
Hoem ki od hache volt férir,
Od sez dous mainz l'estuet^u tenir,
Ne pot entendre à fei covrir,
S'il velt férir de grant air ;^v
Bien férir è covrir ensemble
Ne pot l'en faire, ço me semble.
De verz un tertre unt pris estal,^w
Normanz unt miz de verz li val.
Normanz à pié et à cheval
Les assaillirent come vassal.
Dunc puinst Hue de Mortemer
Od li Sire d'Auviler ;
Cil d'Onebac è de Saint Cler
Engleiz firent mult enverfer.

^r Alors.

^s Habits.

^t Du pays de Caux.

^u Il lui faut.

^v De grande violence.

^w Position.

¹⁵ The pays de Caux.

¹⁶ See note 18, p. 225, as to the use of the shield, and the enarmes, and guige.

¹⁷ RALF DE MORTEMER, not Hugh his son, appears to have been with the expedition.
An instance of Wace's imperfect knowledge of this family has been noticed at the battle of

At Avranches,—when the Duke with the Bretons would fight,
 And there receiv'd Harold, and dubb'd Him a Knight.
 To Himself and His friends, Arms and Garments supply'd,
 And to Brittany sent them, on Foray to ride.
 In the fight, Patric's Post was the Duke's Person nigh,
 He was one in the grace of the Duke, who stood high.

There were there, many Knights from the district of Caux,¹⁵
 Who rode as in jousting, assailing their Foe.
 Unus'd were the English to meet such Attacks,
 For they most fought on foot, with Gifarme or with Axe.
 On Horseback unskill'd, or in use of the Shield,
 Since both hands were needed their weapons to wield;
 For 'tis well to be seen, that to deal a good blow,
 The Warrior all Fence of his Shield must forego.¹⁶

The English retreating, took Post on a Mound,
 The Normans mov'd onward, across the low ground;
 And pressing their Foe, with their Foot and their Horse,
 Brought to bear on the English the whole of their Force.

There spurr'd to the front, Hugh de Mortemer,¹⁷
 D'Auviler,¹⁸ d'Onebac,¹⁹ and the Sire de St. Clair.²⁰

Mortemer; where he omits all reference to Roger de Mortemer, Ralf's father. Roger lost his estates on that occasion; and though he was soon after restored, the fief of Mortemer remained with William Warren. Ralf, however, afterwards recovered this also, and made donations in favour of St. Victor-en-Caux, which, in 1074, had been raised by Roger to the rank of an abbey. Ralf received large possessions in England: he was living in 1104, and then took part with Hen. I. In the Red book, "Hugo de Mortuo-Mari 5 mil. et ad serv. suum 13 et dim." See *Introd. Dom.* i. 455.

¹⁵ Most probably AUVILLARS, arrondissement of Pont-l'Évêque. In the Red book, (de Baiocasino) "Robertus de Alviler 1 mil. de 2 mil. et 4 part. mil. quos habet."

¹⁹ ASNEBEC, near Vire. The estate appears to have belonged to the lords of Beaumont-le-Roger at the period of the conquest. A. L. P. We should rather find here ANNEBAULT-en-Auge, arrondissement of Pont-l'Évêque. Its lords were a baronial house, making grants to monasteries in the vicinity.

²⁰ SAINT-CLAIR, arrondissement of St. Lo. See M. de Gerville's *Recherches*. The site of the castle is still observable. William de Saint-Clair endowed the abbey of Savigny under Hen. I. In 1139 the priory of Villers-Fossard was founded by one of the same

Robert Fitz-Erneis est tué en voulant s'emparer de l'étendard anglais.

Robert ki fu filz Ernéis,
 La lance aluigne, l'escu pris,
 A l'estandart en vint puignant;^{*}
 De son glaive ki fu trenchant
 Fiert un Engleiz ki ert devant,
 Mort l'abati de maintenant,
 Poiz trait l'espée demaneiz,^y
 Maint colp féri for les Engleiz.
 A l'estandart en alout dreit,
 Por ço k'abatre le voleit,
 Maiz li Engleiz l'avironerent,
 Od lor gifarmes le tuerent:
 Là fu trové quant il fu quis,^z
 Lez l'estandart mort et occis.
 Li Quens Robert de Moretoing
 Ne se tint mie del Duc loing;
 Frere ert li Dus de par sa mere,
 Grant aïe^a fist à son frere.
 Li Sire poinst de Herecort,
 Sor un cheval ki mult tost cort,
 De kant k'il pot li Dus secort.
 De Crievecoer è de Driencort

name. The English Sinclairs are reputed to be of this stock. A. L. P. Ricardus de Sencler or Sent-Cler appears in Domesday, *Introd.* ii. 388.

^{*} Piquant des deux, galopant.

^y Sur-le-champ.

^z Cherché.

^a Aide.

¹ ROBERT FITZ-ERNEIS, nephew of Raoul Tesson I. mentioned, at the battle of Valdes-Dunes, as Raol Tesson de Cingueleiz, and cousin of Raol Tesson II. enumerated above among the barons at Hastings. Robert was son of Erneis and Hawise his wife, sister to Fulk d'Aunou. His fall in the battle is mentioned in a charter of his son Robert Fitz-Erneis, containing much information as to the family pedigree, "eodem vero patre meo in Angliâ occiso;" *Gallia Christiana*, xi. Instrum. 334. The family, on that account probably, had formed no establishment in England at Domesday; but we subsequently find King John confiscating lands in Essex, as "terra Rob. fil. Hernifii;" see Hardy's *Rot. Norm.* 128. In the Red book, "Eudo filius Ernifii servitium corporis sui, et ad servitium suum 2 mil. et dim. 6 par. et 8 arg."

O'erthrowing the Saxons.—Then grasping his Shield,
 With Lance-point low levell'd, prick'd forth on the Field,
 Robert Tesson Fitz Ernest;¹—his charge he made good,
 To the spot where the Standard of Harold still stood.
 A Saxon he met there, he struck and laid low,
 And then his Sword drawing, dealt many a blow.
 His good Steed to force to the Standard he tries,
 For his gallant Soul trusted to make it his Prize.
 But there all around him the Englishmen swarm,
 And he falls,—done to death by a Saxon Gifarme.
 And there was he found, when the battle was o'er,
 Beneath the Foe's Standard, all drench'd in his Gore.

Good service Count Robert de Moretain² did yield,
 He rode near the Duke, all that day in the Field;
 One Mother bore both,—and he put forth his might,
 As Brother for Brother should do, in such Fight.

The Sire d'Harcourt,³ who bestrode a swift Steed,
 Gave his aid in the Battle where'er there was need.
 The Sires de Crevecœur,⁴ and de Driencourt,⁵

² ROBERT COMTE DE MORTAIN—comes Moritolii—whom William of Malmesbury describes as “craffi et hebetis ingenii hominem,”—uterine brother of William. He led the chivalry of the Cotentin. He is seen in the Bayeux tapestry seated on one side of the duke, his brother Odo, the bishop, being on the other. He had the earldom of Cornwall, and the largest allotment of spoil. See M. de Gerville, *Recherches*, No. 105; *Introd. Domesday*, i. 455.

³ ERRAND DE HARCOURT, according to the historian of the house, a person little known, and of doubtful authenticity. A branch of this illustrious family certainly settled in England; but the connection is fictitious, by which some genealogists carry it up to the conquest, making a Gervais, a Jeffry, and an Arnold present at Hastings. According to La Roque, it was Ralf, second son of Robert II. baron d'Harcourt, who attached himself to king John, and became head of the English branch; but this also is doubtful. A. L. P. The name is not in *Domesday*.

⁴ CREVECŒUR, arrondissement of Lisieux. The Crevecœurs—de Crepito-corde—settled in England, and were divided into two branches, those of Redburn and Kent, from the time of Hen. I.; see the endowments of Bullington and Leedes in the *Monasticon*.

E li Sire de Briencort
 Sueient li Dus kel part k'il tort.
 Cil de Combria è cil d'Alnei,
 E li Sire de Fontenei,
 De Rebercil è del Molei
 Vunt demandant Heraut li Rei.
 As Engleiz dient : ça estez ;^b
 U est li Reis ke vos servez,
 Ki à Guillaume est perjurez ?
 Morz est s'il pot estre trovez.
 Altres Barons i out afez,
 Ke jo n'ai mie encor nomez ;
 Maiz jo ne poiz à toz entendre,
 Ne de toz ne poiz raifun rendre ;

Hafted says (though his authority may be questioned) that the family name of Hamo dapifer or vice-comes of *Domesday* was Crevequer. He adds that he was brother of Robert Fitz-Hamon ; and here he is supported by a charter of the Conqueror to Saint Denis, existing still at Paris, to which we find as witnesses, "Ego Haimo Regis dapifer"—"Ego Robertus frater hujus Haimonis." See *Introd. Domesday*, i. 432. In the Bayeux Inquest, "Hugo de Crevecuire feodum v mil."

^a DRIENCOURT changed its name to Neufchâtel, after Hen. I. built a castle there. Nothing seems known of the lords of Driencourt in England ; unless we find them in the Daincurt of *Domesday* ; *Introd.* i. 365 ; ii. 406 ; and see Dugdale's *Baronage*, i. 385.

^b Restez.

^c No place of this name is known in Normandy. It may refer to BRUCOURT, arrondissement of Pont-l'Évêque ; and the correct reading of the MS. was perhaps Briucourt. See Robert de Brucourt's confirmation of the grants by Jeffery de Fervaques to Walsingham. About the same time a Gilbert de Brucourt gave lands at Fervaques to the abbey of Val-Richer. A. L. P. In the Red book—de balliâ de Oximis—"Gilbertus de Breucourt 2 mil. regi de Pinu cum pertinent. Idem 1 mil. de fœdo Mort. in Cerenciis." We afterwards find,—among those who "serviunt ad custamentum domini,—Gillebertus de Bruecort, senex, 4 partem de Colevill et Angervill." Gilbert de Brucourt and Hugh his son appear in a charter to Troarn. *Mem. Ant. Norm.* viii. 238.

^d COMBRAY, arrondissement of Falaise. At a later period lords of this name are among the benefactors of St. Barbe-en-Auge and Fontenay.

^e AULNAY. See note 14, p. 190. There are four communes of this name. Aulnay l'Abbaye, arrondissement of Vire, belonged in the twelfth century to the Sais above mentioned, and Jourdain de Say founded the abbey there in 1131. De Alneto is of common

Follow'd hard on the Duke, with the Sire de Briencourt.⁶
 The Sire de Combray,⁷ and the Sire d'Aunay,⁸
 Were there side by side with de Fontenay.⁹
 And Harold was summon'd to stand, by the cry,
 Of the Sires de Rebercil,¹⁰ and del Moley.¹¹
 To the English they scornfully shouted, "Stay ! Stay !
 " Show where hides The King, whom ye serve and obey !
 " To William forsworn ;—Whom no promise could bind,
 " He dies by our hands, if His person we find."

There were present that day other Barons of fame,
 But my Tale would be wearisome, naming each name.

recurrence in early charters. There was also a house of Laune, de Alno, at Laulne near Leffay ; see M. de Gerville's *Recherches*, ii. 241.

⁹ There are nine FONTENAYS in Normandy. If we are to presume that the one here alluded to is Fontenay-le-Marmion, near Caen, the lord of Marmion would seem mentioned twice ; though Fontenay was possibly then held by some one under the Marmions. The Marmion at Hastings is considered to have been Robert ; not Roger, as Wace says. There was a Roger afterwards, who is named in a charter of king Richard to Grestain. In the Red book, Robertus Marmion is among the defaulters. In the Bayeux Inquest, " feodum Marmion et Rogeri et in Buevilla 1 mil."

¹⁰ RUBERCY, arrondissement of Bayeux. It appears that when the abbey of Longues was founded in 1168 by Hugh Wac, he was lord of Rebercil, and gave lands there to the foundation. This Hugh was probably the same as married Emma daughter of Baldwin Fitz-Gilbert (founder, in 1138, of Bourne, in Lincolnshire), and granddaughter of a Gilbert, apparently contemporary with the conquest. A. L. P. Hugh's son, also called Baldwin, appears in the *Monasticon*, and in the charters of Longues ; *Mem. Ant. Norm.* viii.

¹¹ See VIEUX-MOLAY before ; this being perhaps a repetition of the same person, lord of MOLLEI-BACON, arrondissement of Bayeux. William Bacon, who, in 1082, endowed the abbey of the Trinity at Caen, answers to this period. The first of the Bacons known in England was Richard Bacon, nephew of Ranulf, earl of Chester, and founder of the priory of Roucester in Staffordshire. M. Le Prevost asks why the English Bacons deduced their origin from a Grimbald, cousin of William Warren, in preference to the well-known Bacons of Molay ? See as to the history of Mollei-Bacon the Abbé Beziers, in *Nouvelles Recherches sur la France*, Paris, 1766, vol. i. Among the defaulters in the Red book is " Rogerus Bathon [de Bacon in *Duchefne*] pro quartâ parte in Campigneio"—Campigny-les-Bois, arrondissement of Bayeux ? This Roger Bacon seems to have been brother to Philip de Colombieres ; see *Mémoires des Antiq. Norm.* viii. 153. 441.

Ne poiz de toz li colps retraire^c
 Ne jo ne voil lunge ovre faire ;
 Ne fai nomer toz li Barons,
 Ne de toz dire li fornons
 De Normendie è de Bretaigne,
 Ke li Dus out en fa cumpaigne.
 Mult out Mansels et Angevins
 E Tuarceiz^d è Peitevins
 E de Pontif è de Boloigne.^e
 Grant ert la gent, grant la bufoigne ;
 De mainte terre out soldéiers,^f
 Cels por terre, cels por déniers.

Exploits de
Guillaume.

Li Dus Willame se cumbat,
 En la greignur presse s'embat,^g
 Mult en abat, n'est ki rescoe ;^h
 Bien pert ke la bufoigne ert foe.ⁱ
 E cil ki tient son gonfanon
 (Tostein filz Rou li Blanc out non ;
 Del Bec joste Fescam fu nez,
 Chevalier proz è renomez ;
 Et quant li Dus tournout, tournout,
 E quant arestout, arestout),
 Par li granz presses s'embateit,^k
 Là ù il plus Engleiz véait,
 E li Normanz les ocieient
 E tueient et abateient.

^c Rapporter.

^d De Ponthieu et de Boulogne.

^e En la plus grande presse s'enfonce.

^f On s'aperçoit bien que cette befogne est la sienne.

^g Brampton takes the safe side in protesting against being accountable for the baptismal names of the early Norman barons ; in specifying which Wace has, we have seen, often erred. There is a charter to Bernay in the *Mem. Ant. Norm.* iv. 381, granted, it would

^h Ceux de Thouars.

ⁱ Gens soldés, soldats.

^j En réchappe.

^k Se mettait.

Nor does it comport with my Plan, to recite
 Ev'ry Deed, or each Blow, of that marvellous Fight.
 From Normandy, Brittany, Maine, and Anjou,
 The Duke gather'd Barons, all good Men and true.
 And brave Knights from Thouars,—and Poitevin Land,
 From Ponthieu, and Boulogne, all flock'd to his Band.
 But the names of all these I could never rehearse,¹³
 Nor falls such a Task within scope of my Verse.
 From all parts came Soldiers,¹³ for Venture so bold,
 Some fought Lands to win,—others serv'd him for Gold.

Where the Fight hottest rag'd, throughout that whole day,
 Duke William engag'd in the thick of the Fray.
 Not a Blow did he deal, but he struck a Foe down!
 He look'd on this business, 'twas clear, as his own.
 He who bore the Duke's Standard,—that Knight of great worth,
 Who at Bec, near Fescamp, had the place of his birth;
 Tostein¹⁴ Fitz Rou le Blanc, was aye close at hand,
 Where the Duke turn'd, he turn'd, where he stood, took his stand.
 Where the struggle was fiercest, and Press densest grew,
 Himself in the midst of the Conflict, he threw;
 And wherever the English fought best in the Fray,
 He urg'd on his Normans, to cut down and slay.

seem, by duke Richard II. at the great council at which he, in 1027, made disposition of his duchy in favour of his son. Besides dignitaries of the church, it is signed by one hundred and twenty-one viscounts, barons, &c. of whom all, with the exception of those distinguished by offices, and Tustringus (probably Turstin-Goz), Goffredus Wac and Gillebertus Veilin (if indeed the two last are not each the names of two distinct persons) are called merely by their baptismal names. The list is very curious, forming a complete parliament or council, of about one hundred and thirty magnates. *Benoit*, in his short account of the exploits of the army, excuses himself from enumeration of the chiefs who composed it, by saying:—

En treis quaers [cahiers] de parchemin
 N'en venisse je pas a fin.

¹³ Hired men.

¹⁴ See previous note on TURSTIN FITZ-ROU, the standard-bearer.

Out li Dus mult grant cumpaigrie
 De vavaffors de Normendie,
 Ki por lor Seignor garantir
 Se leffeient as cors férir.
 Alain Fergant, quens de Bretaigne,
 De Bretons mene grant cumpaigrie ;
 C'est une gent fiere è grifaigrie,¹
 Ki volentiers prent è gaaingne.
 Cil en ocist mult è méhaigrie,^m
 Ne fiert Engleis ki fus remaigrie.ⁿ
 Bien se cumbat Alainz Ferganz,
 Chevalier fu proz è vaillanz ;
 Li Bretonz vait od fei menant,
 Des Engleiz fait damage grant.
 Li Sire de Saint Galeri,
 E li Quens d'Ou bien i feri,
 E Rogier de Mongomeri,
 E de Toarz Dam Ameri
 Se cuntindrent come hardi ;
 Ki il fierent, mal sunt bailli.

¹ Méchante.^m Blessé.ⁿ Ne frappe point d'Anglais qui reste debout.

¹⁶ ALAN LE ROUX, the red—of Brittany—received the earldom of Richmond and splendid grants for his services. See *Introd. Domesday*, i. 366 ; and, for the discussion as to his pedigree, see the introduction to Gale's *Registrum* of the honor of Richmond. Of all the combatants at Hastings, Alan is alone dwelt upon by *Gaimar* (who was perhaps himself a Breton) in the following passage, which is not found in the MS. in British Museum :—

Li quiens Alain de Bretaigne
 Bien i ferit od sa compaignie.
 Cil i ferit come baron :
 Mult bien le firent Breton.
 Od le roi vint en ceste terre
 Pur lui aider de sa guerre ;
 Son cosin ert, de son lignage,
 Gentil home de grant parage ;

To guard the Duke's perfon, his Vavaffors ftood,
All prepar'd for their Seignor to fhed their heart's blood.

At the head of his Bretons,—the Count of Bretagne,
A mighty Force leading, rode Alain Fergant.¹⁵
A proud Race,—but greedy of pillage they are,
The Spoils not difdaining, or Profits of War.
By them many English were wounded and flain,
And few whom they fmote, but were fretch'd on the Plain.
Acknowledg'd by all as a good and brave Knight,
Alain Fergant did nobly that day in the Fight.
And heavy the lofs, which the English befell,
At the hands of the Bretons, the Count led fo well.

The Count d'Eu,¹⁶ fought bravely.—De St. Galeri,¹⁷
Struck ftoutly as Roger de Montgomeri.
And Aimeri, he who of Toarz was Lord,
Made many a Foe feel the edge of his Sword.

Le roi fervit et ama,
Et il bien le guerdona ;
Richement[mont ?] li dona el north
Bon chaftel et bel et fort.
En plusurs lius en Engleterre
Li rois li donna de fa terre.
Lunges la tint et puis finit :
A Seint-Edmon l'om l'enfouit.
Ore ai dit de cel baron
Repaierer voil a ma raifon.

¹⁶ ROBERT COMTE D'EU received the custody of the caſtle of Haſtings, and conſiderable lands in England, which his family retained till the ſeverance of Normandy; ſee *Introd. Domeſday*, i. 463; and Eſtancelin's *Hiſtory of the Comtes d'Eu*. Comes Augi is one of the defaulters in the Red book roll.

¹⁷ BERNARD DE ST. VALERY, on the Somme, who was grandſon of duke Richard II. by a daughter, and was therefore couſin to the conqueror. A branch of the St. Valery family eſtabliſhed itſelf in England; Ranulfus de St. Walerico appears in *Domeſday*, *Introd.* i. 503. In the Red book, de Baiocafino, is “Guido de Sancto Galerico 1 mil. pro allodiis taill. ;” and among the defaulters is, “Bernardus de Sancto Valerico, pro fœdo de Valle de Dun.”

Guillaume
cherche Harold
dans la mêlée.

Son combat avec
un Anglais qui
avait tué beau-
coup de Nor-
mands.

Li Dus Willame mult s'engoiffe,^o
 Sor li Engleiz fa lance froisse ;
 D'aler à l'estandart se peine
 Od li grant pople ke il meine ;
 Mult s'entremet de Heraut querre,^p
 Ke par li est tute la guerre.
 Normanz vunt lor Seignor quérant,^q
 E mult le vunt avironant ;
 As Engleiz vunt granz colps donant,
 E cil se vunt mult desfendant,
 Forment s'esforcent è desfendent ;
 Lor anemiz à colps atendent.
 Un i en out de grant vigor,
 Ke l'en teneit por luiteor ;^r
 Od une hache k'il teneit,
 As Normanz grant mal faiseit ;
 Trestuit li pople le cremeit,^s
 Kar des Normanz^t mult destruiteit.
 Li Dus point,^u si l'ala férir ;
 Maiz cil guenchi,^v cil fist faillir,
 En travers failli un grant faut,
 El col leva la hache en haut ;
 Al retor ke li Dus faiseit
 Por la hache ke il cremeit
 S'acorfa ;^w cil de grant vertu
 Sus a li Dus el chief féru,^x
 Li helme li a mult pléié,^y
 Maiz ne l'a pas granment blecié.
 Por poi k'il nel' fist trespuchier,^z
 Maiz as estrieus s'est porfichiez,
 Delivrement s'est redreciez ;
 E kant il se kuida vengier
 Et occire li pautonier,^a
 Li pautonier s'est trait arière ;

Duke William meanwhile, mighty efforts did make,
 And charging the English, his Lance-stave he brake.
 At the head of the Leading who with him there came,
 To reach Harold's Standard, he made it his Aim.
 In quest of the Man, who the War brought about,
 He dash'd through the *Melée*, and fought Harold out.
 The Normans who mark'd how their Seigneur press'd on,
 Clos'd round,—and their blows rain'd the English upon.
 Nor slack their defence, for they struggle and strive,
 And each stroke that's dealt them, they back again give.

In the ranks of the Saxons, a stalwart bold Wight,
 A Wrestler, well skill'd with the broad Axe to fight,
 Cut down many Normans, and fill'd them with Fear,
 That none durst the Sweep of his Weapon come near.
 The Duke spurring on, made a stroke at this Foe,
 But he warily stoop'd, and evaded the Blow.
 He leapt aside nimbly, and rais'd his Axe high,
 Prepar'd with his blow, as the Duke should pass by.
 The Duke saw his danger, and bent him low down,
 But th' Axe struck his Helmet, indenting the Crown.
 The wound was but slight,—yet he shook in his Seat,
 His Stirrups supporting the stress of his Feet.
 He soon sat erect, and enrag'd,—his first thought,
 Was to slay the rash Man who such insult had wrought.
 But ere his revenge he could wreak on his Foe,
 The Vagabond fled, for he fear'd the Duke's blow.
 Amongst his friends' ranks, he drew back with a bound,
 But not even there could safe refuge be found.

° S'efforce.

p Chercher.

q Cherchant.

r Lutteur.

• Le craignait.

† Car il détruisait beaucoup de Normands.

u Pique, pousse en avant.

v Tourna.

w Se baissa.

x Frappé.

y Plié.

z Peu s'en fallut qu'il ne le fît tomber.

• Le goujat, le vaurien.

L'Anglais s'en-
fuit, et est percé
de coups de
lance.

Avantage mo-
mentané des An-
glais. Guillaume
ramène ses sol-
dats au combat.

Crieme^b a del Duc k'il nel' fiere.^c
 Entre les Engleiz vint faillant,
 Maiz n'i pout mie avoir garant,
 Kar Normanz ki l'orent véu
 L'ont parfui è conféu,^d
 As fers des lances l'ont cofu,
 A terre l'unt mort abatu,
 Là ù la presse ert plus espeffe ;
 Là cil de Kent è cil d'Esseffe
 A merveille se cumbateient,
 E li Normanz ruser^e faiseient,
 En fus les faiseient retraire,
 Ne lor poeient grant mal faire.
 Li Dus vit fa gent resfortir^f
 E les Engleiz trop esbaudir ;^g
 Par les enarmes print l'escu,
 Porfichié s'est de grant vertu,
 Une lance a prise è drecie,
 Ke un vaslet li a baillie,
 Joste li prift fun gonfanon.
 Plus de mil armez environ,
 Ki del Duc grant garde perneient
 E là ù il puigneit puigneient,^h
 Serrément fi com il durent,
 Verz les Engleiz férir s'esmurent ;
 Od la force des boens destriers
 Et od li colps des Chevaliers
 La presse unt tote desrompue
 E la turbe avant elsⁱ fendue.
 Li boen Dus avant les conduit,
 Maint enchaça è maint s'emfuit.

^b Crainte.
^c Reculer.

^c Qu'il ne le frappe.
^f Abandonner le champ de bataille.

^d Pourfuivi et atteint.
^g Se réjouir.

For Normans who saw how he struck at their Duke,
Pursu'd him, and quickly their Man overtook.
And there this bold Wrestler was smitten and slain,
Transfix'd by their Lance-points, and left on the Plain.

Where denfest the Prefs, and the Fight fiercest went,
Nobly combat the Warriors of Essex and Kent.
So stout their Defence, that the Onset they foil,
And the Normans awhile from the Combat recoil.
For a time did the Saxons their Foemen drive back,
So tho' not repuls'd, they relax'd their Attack.

When the Duke saw his Warriors beginning to yield,
And the English exulting, advance on the Field,
His spirit was chaf'd;—firmly grasping his Shield,¹⁸
A Lance which a Servitor brought him, he took,
And brandish'd the Weapon, which in his gripe shook.
His Standard was rais'd, where he took up his ground,
A thousand arm'd Cavaliers gather'd around;
All Men of his Guard.—The Duke took the lead
Of his close ferried Squadrons,—and put them to speed.
Down, down on the Host of the Saxons they bore,
The shock of their Steeds, through their dense Masses tore.
While the blows of the Riders, as o'er them they swept,
Destruction and Death, in their bloody track left.
The Duke led the Charge,¹⁹—and the Saxon Array,
All shatter'd and broken, now fled in dismay.

¹⁸ Où il galopait galopaient.

¹⁹ Devant eux.

¹⁸ The enarmes were two thongs or loops of leather, fixed to the inside of the shield, by which it was borne on the arm. There was besides a leather strap and buckle, by which the shield was, when not in use, strung to the warrior's neck. This extra strap was called the guige; and left the bearer the use of both hands, which were necessary when fighting with the battle-axe.

¹⁹ *L'Estoire de Saint Edward le Rei* puts an energetic exhortation into William's mouth at this crisis:—

Ke put estre, dist-il, ceste
Cuardie, segnurs Normantz,

G G

Carnage des
Anglais.

Mult véiffiez Engleiz tumber,
Géfir à terre è jambeter,
Et as chevaux cels defoler^k
Ki ne se poent relever ;
Mult véiffiez voler cerveles
Et à terre géfir boeles.^l
Mult en chaï à cel enchaus^m
Des plus riches et des plus haus.
Engleiz par places se aestreignent,
Cels ocient ke il ateignent,
El plus k'il poent s'esvertuent,
Homes abatent, chevaux tuent.
Un Engleiz a li Dus véu,
A li ociere a entendu ;ⁿ
Od une lance k'il portout
Férir le volt, maiz il ne pout,
Kar li Dus l'a anceiz féru
Et à terre jus^o abatu.
Grant fu la noïse è grant l'occise ;^p
Maint alme i out forz de cors mise ;
Li vifz de fuz li morz trespasfent,^q
D'ambes parz de férir se lassent.^r
Ki déroter pot fi dérote,
E ki ne pot férir, fi bote ;^s
Li forz cuntre li forz estrivent,
Li uns morent, li altres vivent ;
Li cuarz se vont retraiant,^t
E li hardiz passent avant.
Mal est bailli ki entrels chiet,
Grant poor a ainz k'il reliet,^u

Ki ancefurs avez fi grantz ?
Rois Rou, ki as coups de lance
Descumfist le rei de France,
E le mata en mi sa terre,

Many Englishmen sank, trodden down to the Plain,
 'Neath the Hoofs of the Steeds, ne'er to rise up again.
 Spatter'd brains, and gash'd Corpses, encumber'd the ground,
 And many a Noble, in flight his Death found.
 The Englishmen still, here and there form'd a band,
 And rally'd together, their Foes to withstand.
 Still flew Men and Horses,—and as they best might,
 Strive reckless and desp'rate, in fullen despite.

An Englishman mark'd where the Duke made his way,
 And bethought him the Chief of the Normans to slay.
 With Lance ready pois'd, on the Leader he rush'd,
 But the Duke striking first, laid him dead with a thrust.
 The slaughter was dread, and the din and the strife,
 And many a Body was reft of its life.
 On, on march the living, o'er mountains of slain,
 Men strike, till fatigue stops their striking again.
 He who can, charges still, in the thick of the Throng,
 And e'en he who cannot is still borne along.
 With strong Men, strong grapple ;—some perish in strife,
 Whilst others escape, and are sav'd with bare Life.
 The faint-hearted Cravens, flink back to the Rear,
 While some in the Van, combat still without fear.
 Evil Lot is that Warrior's, who falls on the Plain,²⁰
 For small is his chance, that he e'er rise again.

Par force de bataille e guerre ;
 E ducs Richard k'apres li vint,
 Ki li *diable* atteint e tint,
 E le venquit e le lia.
 E vus failliz, forlignez ja !
 Sivet moi, ma gent demeine !

^k Fouler aux pieds.

^l Boyaux.

^m Chasse, poursuite.

ⁿ Il a cherché à le tuer.

^o Couché.

^p Le massacre.

^q Les vivans marchent sur les morts.

^r Des deux côtés ils se lassent de frapper.

^s Et qui ne peut frapper pousse.

^t Retirant.

^u Qu'il se relève.

²⁰ Leviter fauciatu non permittit evadere, sed comprimendo necat fociorum densitas.

WILLIAM OF POITIERS, p. 202.

Les Normands
arrivent à l'étendard.

Harold est ren-
versé et tué.

Gurth est mis
hors de combat
par Guillaume.

L'étendard an-
glais est renversé.

E maint en chiet ki ne relieve,
Par la grant presse maint encrieve.^v
Tant unt Normant avant empeint,^w
K'il unt à l'estendart ataint.
Héraut à l'estandart esteit,
A son poer se desfendeit,
Maiz mult esteit de l'oil grevez,
Por ço k'il li esteit crevez.
A la dolor ke il fenteit
Del colp del oil ki li doleit,
Vint un armez par la bataille ;
Heraut feri for la ventaille,^x
A terre le fit tresbuchier ;
E quant k'il se volt redrecier,
Un Chevalier le rabati,
Ki en la cuisse le féri,
En la cuisse parmi le gros,
La plaie fu de si en l'os.^y

Guert vit Engleiz amenuifier,^z
Vit k'il n'i out nul recovrier,^a
Vit son lignage dechaeir ;
De sei garir n'out nul espeir,
Fuir s'en volt, maiz ne poeit,
Ke la presse toz tems creisseit.
A tant puinst li Dus, si l'ateint,
Par grant aïr avant l'empeint,^b
Ne sai se de cel colp morut,
Maiz ço fu dit ke pose jut.^c
L'estendart unt à terre mis,
E li Reis Heraut unt occis
E li meillor de ses amis ;
Li gonfanon à or unt pris.

And many were those, who there drew their last Breath,
Borne down in the Tumult, and trampled to Death.

In the Melée a Norman had made his way good,
To the Standard,¹ where Harold still combating stood,
Still making Defence,—but the wound in His Eye
Wrung His frame,—and unmann'd Him with Agony.
Half blind He fought on,—but was smote to the Ground,
A Blow 'neath His Vizor, inflicting the Wound.
As He struggl'd to rise,—a Knight passing by,
Pinn'd him down to the Earth with a Gash in His Thigh.

Higden says, that
Harold was slain
by the Arrow,
and the wound
in the Thigh in-
flicted by a Sol-
dier after death.
Ob quod, a
militia per Wil-
lielmum, pulsus
est, eo quod rem
ignavam fecisset.
—HIGDEN'S
Chronicle, Lib vi.
The anonymous
continuer of
Bede uses nearly
similar words.
A. M.

Gurth saw how the Ranks of the English grew thin,
With no chance of help or the Contest to win ;
Saw the End of his Race,—and despairing of Aid,
Would have fled,—but Escape there was none to be made,
So great was the Throng.—Then on rush'd the Duke,
And charging on Gurth, a fierce blow at him took.
If he died by that stroke, I may not surely say,
'Tis said, that thereafter as dead there he lay.
Thus the Standard was riven, and cast on the Plain,
The King, with the best of his Friends, were all slain ;
The Gonfalon,² shining with gold and Gems ta'en.

† Est offensé, blessé.

‡ Pouffé.

§ Pièce du casque qui se relevait pour prendre l'air, ou était percée de trous.

¶ La plaie fut jusqu'à l'os.

* Diminuer.

• Moyen de réparer sa perte.

^b Le duc poussa si fort qu'il l'atteignit et le frappa avec grande violence (par grant air).

^c Resté couché.

¹ *William of Poitiers* and *William of Malmesbury* give the following description of this gonfalon or standard :—"Memorable quoque vexillum Heraldici, hominis armati imaginem intextam habens ex auro purissimo." "Vexillum illud . . . quod erat in hominis pugnantis figurâ, auro et lapidibus arte sumptuosâ contextum."

² Vexillum illud post victoriam Papæ misit Wilhelmus, quod erat in hominis pugnantis figurâ, auro et lapidibus sumptuose contextum.—*Continuation of Bede*—(*Anonymous*), p. 332.
Ed. Heidelberg, 1587.

Désespoir des
Anglais. Ils
combattent jus-
qu'à la fin du
jour.

Les Anglais
cessent le com-
bat, et s'enfuient.

Ils ne s'arrêtent
qu'à Londres.

Tel presse out à Heraut occire,
Ke jo ne fai ki l'occist dire.
Mult unt Engleiz grant dol éu
Del Rei Heraut k'il unt perdu,
E del Duc ki l'aveit vencu
E l'estandart out abatu.
Mult lungement se combatirent
E lungement se desfendirent,
De fi ke vint à la parfin
Ke li jor torna el déclin.
E dunc^d unt bien aparcéu,
E li alkanz recognéu
Ke l'estandart esteit chéu,
E la novele vint è crut
Ke mort esteit Heraut por veir.^e
Ne kudent maiz secors avoir ;
De la bataille se partirent,
Cil ki porent fuir, fuirent.
Ne fai dire ne jo nel di,
Ne jo n'i fu, ne jo nel' vi,
Ni à mestre dire n'oï
Ki li Reis Heraut abati,
Ne de kel arme il fu nafrez,
Maiz od li morz fu morz trovez ;
Mort fu trovez entre li morz,
Nel' pout garir ses granz esforz.
Engleiz ki del champ eschaperent,
De fi à Lundres ne finerent :^f
Ço diseient è ço creimeient^g
Ke li Norman^h prez les fueient.

^d Alors.

^e Pour vrai.

^f Ne s'arrêtèrent.

^g Craignant.

^h *Benoit* and the author of the *Estoire de Saint Edward* describe the result of the battle and Harold's fall in a few lines.



So dire was the Prefs, where the King Harold fell,
 That who struck him down, not a mortal can tell.
 Consternation pervaded the whole Saxon Host,
 When they knew that the Life of their Monarch was lost.
 They saw how the Duke in the Combat prevail'd,
 And knew that their Standard was taken, and vail'd.
 Yet they still made Defence, and continu'd the Fight,
 Till Day waning fast, it began to grow Night.
 But at last it was known, and the News quickly spread,
 How the Standard was captur'd,—how Harold was dead.
 All Hope then was lost, and without Aid at hand,
 The wreck of the English began to disband.
 The Fight they give o'er, and the Victory yield,
 While those who could, fled,³ and abandon'd the Field.⁴

I know not, nor have I the power to say,
 For I was not witness, or present that day,
 Nor have I yet heard, that e'er any one knew,
 Who 'twas dealt the blow, which The King Harold flew.
 Just as little 'tis known, what Arm gave the Wound,
 But there lying dead,—with the Dead was He found.
 He was slain,—and was gather'd with those slain in Fight,
 And little avail'd Him His prowess and might.

The English who escap'd from the Battle away,
 Flew till they reach'd London, in utter dismay.
 Fear stricken, they thought, and they said in their Fear,
 The Normans were close in pursuit, on their Rear.⁵

⁴ Late solum operuit fordidatus in cruore flos Angliæ nobilitatis atque juventutis.

WILLIAM OF POITIERS, p. 202.

⁵ Some discrepancy has been pointed out between the account here given by Wace and that found in *William of Jumièges* and *William of Poitiers*. The Latin historians say more as to resistance to the last in the battle. There can, however, hardly be said to be any

Grant presse out à passer li pont,
 E l'ewe fu de foz parfont ;^h
 Por la presse li pont froissa,
 E maint en l'ewe trespucha.
 Willame bien se cumbati,
 En mainte presse s'embati,ⁱ
 Maint colp dona, maint colp reçut,
 E par fa main maint en morut.
 Dous chevaux out foz li occis,
 E li tiers a par busuing pris,
 Si k'il à terre ne chaï,
 Ne de sanc gute n'i perdi.
 Coment ke chescun le féist,
 Ki ke morust ne ki vesquist,
 Veir est^k ke Willame veinqui.
 Des Engleiz mult del champ fui^l
 E maint en morut par li places ;
 A Dex Willeme en rent graces.
 Li Dus Willame par fierté,
 Là ù l'estendart out esté
 Rova^m son gonfanon porter,
 E là le fist en haut lever ;
 Ço fu li signe k'il out veincu
 E l'estandart out abatu.

Guillaume fait
 placer son éten-
 dard à l'endroit
 où était celui
 d'Harold.

material variance. The fight being ended, all agree that the English army dispersed and ultimately fled ; and what Wace dwells upon seems to have reference to the circumstances of this final retreat. *Benoit* says,—

Cele occise, cele dolor
 Tint tant cum point i out deu jor,
 Ne la nuit ne failli la paine
 Ci que parut le Diemaine.
 — si quide l'om bien e creit
 Qu'a cinc milliers furent esmé
 Cil des lor qui furent trové,
 Sol eu grant champ del fereiz,



When they came to the Bridge,⁵—all crowding to pass,
 So great was the Throng, that it brake 'neath their Mafs.
 There dire was the Prefs,—and the Water profound,
 Great multitudes fell from the Bridge and were drown'd.

In the Battle Duke William most gallantly fought,
 Where the fight rag'd the fiercest, the danger he fought.
 Many Blows did he deal, and receive on that day,
 And many a Foe, with his hand did he slay.
 Two Coursers beneath him fell dead on the Plain,
 And a third gallant Steed to bestride he was fain ;
 But neither in Fight, was he borne to the ground,
 Nor yet lost one drop of his blood from a wound.⁶
 Whate'er then of this one, or that may be said,
 Of the Feats of the living, or Fate of the dead,
 Duke William the Vict'ry undoubtedly got,
 For the Saxons who fled not, lay dead on the spot.

His thanks paid to God,—he then caus'd to bring
 His Gonfalon, where had stood that of The King.
 Elated,—he bade they should let its folds fly,
 As Symbol of Conquest, to flaunt in the sky ;
 And on that very spot, where the Standard was found,
 His own was erected, and fix'd in the ground.

Wm. of Poitiers,
 Higden, the con-
 tinuer of Bede,
 and Orderic Vital
 say *three*. Hig-
 den's words are,
tris equos elec-
tissimos amisit.
 A. M.

Quant qu'il fussent desconfiz
 Estre l'occise e la martire
Qui fu tute la nuit a tire.

^h Profonde.

ⁱ Se fourra.

^k Il est vrai.

^l Beaucoup d'Anglais s'enfuirent du champ de bataille.

^m Ordonna.

⁵ The author of the "*Chronicles of London Bridge*" has missed recording this notice of the early history of that structure ; which seems till the reign of Hen. I. to have been of a fragile character, probably a bridge of boats.

⁶ *William of Poitiers* states his prowess to have been hailed in songs, as well as verbal applause ; "*plausibus et dulcibus cantilenis efferebant.*"

Il établit sa tente
sur le champ de
bataille, malgré
les avis de Gau-
tier Giffart.

Entre li morz fist son trefⁿ tendre,
E là rova son hostel prendre ;
Là fist son mangier apporter
Et aparaillier son souper.
Eis vus^o Galtier Giffart puignant :
Sire, fet-il, k'alez faifant ?
Vos n'estes mie avenement
Remez od ceste morte gent.^p
Maint Engleiz gift ensanglenté
Entre li morz fain u nafré,
Ki de lor sanc se sunt foillié,
Et od li morz de gré couchié,^q
Ki par noit kudent relever,
E par noit kudent escaper ;
Maiz mult se kudent ainz vengier,
E mult se kudent vendre chier.
Ne chaut chescun de sa vie,
Ne li chaut poiz ki l'ocie,
Maiz ke il ait un Normant mort.^r
Nos lor faison, ço dien, tort.
Aillors déuffiez herbergier,^s
E faire vos eschargaitier^t
A mil u à dous mil armez
De cels ù plus vos fiez.
Seit ennuit^u faite l'eschargaite ;^v
Nos ne favons ki nos agaite ;
Fière journée avon hui faite,
Maiz la fin bien me plaist è haite.^w
Gifart, dist li Dus, Dex merci,
Bien l'avome fet trefqu'ici,^x
Et se Dex le velt cunfentir,
E ke à li vienge à pleisir,
Bien le feron d'ore en avant ;
De tot traion^y Dex à garant.

Then he bade pitch his Tent, and his Supper be spread,
And his Lodging prepare, in the midst of the Dead.

Then lo! Walter Giffart rode up thro' the Crow'd,
He mark'd what was doing, and cry'd out aloud:—

“Sire! what dost thou here? 'tis a spot but ill found,

“Where so many Corfes encumber the Ground.

“Unwounded perchance, 'mongst the heaps of the slain,

“Tho' dabbl'd with blood, many English remain.

“Only waiting for Nightfall, its shadows to spread,

“To rise and escape from this Field strewn with dead.⁷

“'Twere a chance for sweet vengeance, if such there be here,

“And little they'd reck, of their Lives selling dear;

“If the Life of a Norman they first could but take,

“Small account of their own, would they afterwards make.

“On them, (as they deem,) cruel wrongs have we wrought.

“Elsewhere in the Field, let your Lodging be fought;

“And to keep watch and ward, choose out, and provide,

“Some thousand arm'd Men, in whom most you confide.

“All Night, let their Watch be observ'd, and with care,

“Little know we what Stratagems Night may prepare.

“A rude, but a glorious day's work have we done,

“Right glad do I feel, for our Victory won!”

“God be thank'd, my good Giffart,”—the Duke answer made,

“Till now, by His Favour, our part is well play'd;

“And such with God's aid, shall our progress be still,

“We repose all our hopes, and full trust in His Will!”

ⁿ Sa tente.

^p Vous n'êtes pas convenablement placé parmi ces morts.

^r Ne lui importe qu'il soit tué après, pourvu qu'il ait tué un Normand.

^t Garder, surveiller.

^v Et réjouit.

^u Aujourd'hui.

^x Jusqu'ici.

^o Voilà.

^q Couché exprès.

^s Loger.

^v La garde.

^y Prenons.

⁷ *William of Jumièges* makes it the middle of the night before William returned from the pursuit; though his subsequent expression would rather imply daylight:—“ad aream belli regressus, reperit stragem, quam non absque miseratione conspexit.”

Les barons observent avec admiration la quantité et la gravité des coups dont les armes du duc portent l'empreinte.

Ils l'élèvent au-dessus de tous les guerriers.

Le lendemain, on enterre les morts.

Issi s'en est Giffart tornez
 Et Willame s'est désarmez.
 A la guige^z del col oster,
 Et al helme del chief sevrer^a
 Et al hauber del dos verfer
 Vinrent Baronz è Chevaliers
 E dameifels et esquiers ;
 Li colps virent granz en l'escu
 E li helme ont quassé véu.
 A grant merveille unt tot tenu
 E dient tuient : tel ber ne fu
 Ki si poinfist è si férift,
 Ne ki d'armes tels faiz si fift ;
 Poiz Rollant ne poiz Olivier
 N'out en terre tel Chevalier.
 Mult le preisent, mult le loent,
 De ço k'il unt véu s'esjoent,
 Maiz dolens sunt de lor amis,
 Ki sunt en la bataille occis.
 Li Dus fu entrels en estant^b
 De bele groisse è de bel grant ;^c
 Graces rendi al Rei de gloire
 Par ki il out éu victoire ;
 Li chevaliers a merciez,
 E li morz sovent regretez.
 A la champaigne la nuit jut,^d
 Entre li morz mainga è but.
 Diemaine^e fu el demain ;
 Cil ki orent ju à cel plain^f
 E ki orent veillié as chans^g
 E sofert orent mainz ahans,^h
 Par matin furent el jor levez ;
 Par la champaigne sunt alé,
 Lor amis unt fet enterrer,

Then turning from Giffart,—his Barons unbrac'd
 His Shield,—and his Helm from his Hauberk unlac'd.
 Knights, Pages, and Squires, in difarming him aid;
 They stripp'd off his Hauberk, and saw the Strokes made
 On his Shield,—and his Helmet all dinted,—and said,
 “ 'Twas a fight such as never before had they seen,
 “ And his equal in Combat, there never had been;
 “ Who could so manage Steed,—or his Weapons so wield,
 “ Or such Feats perform, as he did, in the Field.
 “ Since the days which gave Roland and Oliver birth,
 “ There ne'er yet had been such a Knight, upon Earth!”

Thus their Seigneur they praise, with one heart and voice,
 And all in his Prowess and Fortune rejoice.
 But many their friends, and their Comrades deplore,
 Who fell in the Fight, and lie stretch'd in their Gore.

There goodly in Stature, majestic in Mien,
 In the midst of his Chiefs, was the Duke to be seen.
 He rend'ed up thanks to The Lord of all might,
 Through Whose aid and favour, he won him the Fight.
 His good Knights and Barons, his thanks too receiv'd.
 For the brave, who had fall'n in his Service, he griev'd.
 He lodg'd himself there, in his Tent, on the Plain,
 And he ate, and he drank, in the midst of the slain.

The morrow was Sunday, and those who had slept
 On the Plain, or the Night-watch around it had kept,
 Tho' weary and worn,—rose with break of the day,
 And to gather the Dead, through the Field took their way.

▪ La courroie de l'écu.

• Oter, séparer.

ᵇ Debout.

ᶜ D'une belle corpulence et d'une belle grandeur.

ᵈ Coucha.

• Dimanche.

ᶠ Dans cette plaine.

ᵉ Aux champs.

ᵇ Maintes fatigues.

Cels k'il porent morz trover.
 Li nobles dames de la terre
 Sunt alées lor maris querre ;ⁱ
 Li unes vunt quérant lor peres,
 U lor espos u filz u freres ;
 A lor villes les emporterent,
 Et as mostiers^k les enterrerent.
 Clers è proveires^l del país,
 Par requeste de lor amis
 Unt cels ke il troverent pris ;
 Charniers unt fait, cil unt enz^m mis.
 Li Reis Heraut fu emportez,
 E à Varhamⁿ fu enterrez ;
 Maiz jo ne fai ki l'emporta,
 Ne jo ne fai ki l'enterra.
 Maint en remest^o el champ gifant,
 Maint s'en ala par nuit fuiant.
 Li Evefkes s'entremenderent,
 Et à Londres s'entr'assemblerent ;
 Li Baronz sunt à els venu,
 Grant concile unt entrels tenu.
 Par comun conseil del clergie,
 Ki l'unt loé è cunseillié

Harold est enterré à Waltham.

Guillaume est élu et couronné par les évêques et les barons anglais.

ⁱ Chercher.

^k Aux églises.

^l Prêtres.

^m Dedans.

ⁿ L'abbaye de Waltham.

^o Reste.

¹ Other authority supplies the fact that free leave was given expressly for the purpose of seeking and interring the dead ; see *William of Poitiers*, and *Benoit de Sainte-More* on the same subject.

² *William of Poitiers* and *Orderic Vital* assert that William Malet was charged with the burial :—"Tumulandum eum Guilelmo agnomine Maletto concessit."—*WILLIAM OF POITIERS*, p. 204.

Higden says :—"Corpus Haroldi, matri ejus id deposcenti sine pretio misit, quod ipsa apud Waltham, Monasterium Canonicorum quod ipse fundaverat sepelivit."—*Polychronicon*, lib. vi.

Corpus Heroldi matri repetenti sine pretio misit : licet illa per legatos multum obtulisset : acceptum ita apud Watham sepelivit ; quam ipse Ecclesiam ex proprio constructam in

And there when their Friends or their Comrades they found,
 They heap'd the Earth o'er them, in many a mound.
 There seeking their Lords, noble Dames of the Land,
 Were spread o'er the Plain,—a disconsolate Band.
 For Fathers, for Husbands, for Sons, was their Quest,
 Or for Brothers.¹—They bore them to take their last Rest,
 To their Towns and their Churches, and bury'd them there.
 And the Clerks and the Priests of the Land, at their Pray'r,
 The Bodies receiv'd.—So in graves which they made,
 What remain'd of those Warriors, was decently laid.

King Harold himself,—(tho' I know not by whom,²)
 To Waltham³ was carry'd, and laid in the Tomb.
 Vast multitudes perished, and fell in the Fight,
 But many surviv'd, and escap'd in the Night.

Thereafter, by Bishops and Lords 'twas agreed,
 At London⁴ a council to hold, and proceed
 T' elect the Duke King,⁵ with unanimous Voice,

Wace here makes an abrupt transition. Benoit de St. More notices the abortive attempt to set up Edgar Atheling, and gives an account of a Skirmish on the left Bank of the Thames, and the burning of Southwark, etc.

honore Sanctæ Crucis canonicis impleuerat.—*Continuation of Bede*—(*Anonymous*), p. 334. *Ed. Heidelberg*, 1587.

¹ WALTHAM ABBEY founded or restored by Harold. According to *William of Poitiers*, and *Ordericus*, the body was brought to William; and being refused to Ghita, Harold's mother, was committed to William Malet, to be buried on the sea shore. For the reasons for the body being delivered to W. Malet, see appendix.

⁴ Edwin and Morcar, the earls of Mercia and Northumberland:—*Londinum venerunt, sororem suam Alaritham Haraldi uxorem, ad urbem Legionum id est Cestriam transmiserunt.* HIGDEN's *Polychronicon*, lib. vi. *Ed. Thomas Gale, Oxon.* 1691.

⁵ Wace passes very lightly over English internal affairs, of which he probably knew and cared little, and which were, moreover, foreign to the plan of his work. The *Saxon Chronicle* says of the coronation:—"Then on Midwinter day archbishop Aldred hallowed him to king at Westminster, and gave him possession with the books of Christ; and also swore him, ere that he would set the crown upon his head, that he would as well govern this nation as any king before him best did, if they would be faithful to him." See, as to the chronology of William's life and age, Sir Harris Nicolas's *Chronology of History*, 279.

Date de ce couronnement.

Durée du règne de Guillaume.

Il récompense ses soldats.

Il laisse à ses sujets le choix des lois d'après lesquelles ils seront gouvernés.

E par li Baronz ki vécient^p
 Ke altre esliere^q ne poeient,
 Unt li Dus fet Reis coroné
 E feelté li unt juré ;
 Féelté en prift è homages,
 Si lor rendi lor éritages.
 Mil ans seifante è fis aveit,
 Se li clers unt conté par dreit,
 Poiz la naiffance Jhesu Crist
 Quant Willame corone prift ;
 Vint et un an demie è plus^r
 Fu poiz Willame Reis è Dus.
 A plusors ki l'orent fui^s
 E ki l'orent lunges servi
 Dona chastels, dona citez,
 Dona maneirs, dona comtez,
 Dona terres, as vavassors
 Dona altres rentes plusors.
 Poiz fist toz li Baronz mander
 E toz les Engleiz asembler :
 A chois les mist kels leis^t teindreient,
 E kels costumes il voldreient
 U des Normanz u des Engleiz,
 De kels Seignors è de kels Reiz ;
 E cil distrent : del Rei Ewart,
 Li foes^u leis lor tienge è gart.^v

^p Qui voyaient.

^q Elire.

^r Pendant vingt et une autres années et demie, il fut en même temps roi et duc.

^s Suivi.

^t Quelles lois.

^u Les siennes.

^v Et garde.

⁶ Wace had, in narrating Swain's success in overrunning England, i. 327, observed upon the facility afforded to an invader by the scarcity of fortified posts :—

For Clergy and Nobles, saw no other choice.⁶

So Fealty was sworn, and they pledg'd him their troth,
And their Homage was paid, and confirm'd by their Oath.

Thus established in right to the Realm, at their hands,
He restor'd them their Fiefs, with their holdings and Lands.⁷

In Christ's year one thousand and sixty and fix,
As is reckon'd by Clerks, if the date they well fix,
The Crown William took.—Years twenty and one,
And more than the half year he sat on the Throne.
Being then King and Duke.—He granted and gave
To those who came with Him, to hold and to have,
Many Castles, and Cities, vast Manors, and Land,
And Earldoms, and Lordships, as Fiefs at His hand.
His Vavassors also, he richly endow'd,
And on them and others, large Rents He bestow'd.

Then he summon'd His Barons, and English, to make
Consultation; what Customs and Laws they should take.
To pronounce by which Laws they preferr'd to be sway'd,
Whether those for the Normans, or Englishmen made.
They declar'd that the Laws of King Edward were those,
Which beyond any others, they wish'd for, and chose.

N'i aveit gaires fortelesce,
Ne tur de pierre ne bretesce,
Se n'esteit en vieille cité,
Ki close fust d'antiquité.
Maiz li barunz de Normendie,
Quant il orent la seignorie,
Firent chastels e fermetez,
Turs de pierre, murs e fossez.

⁶ *William of Poitiers* says—"liberaliter eis donavit gratiam suam—reddidit eis cuncta quæ possederant, habebat eos magno honore;—and especially of Edgar Atheling—"Ade-
linum . . . amplis terris ditavit, atque in clarissimis habuit eum."—P. 208.

William of Malmesbury says:—"Quid enim prodesset, si nec unum in toto regno de

Ilz choisissent
celles d'Edouard-
le-Confesseur.

Li costumies k'il cognoisseient,
K'al tems Ewart tenir soleient,
Celes voldrent, celes requistrent,
Celes lor plorent, celes pristrent :
Iffi lor fu à volenté
E li Reis lor a graanté.^v
Maint travail out è mainte guerre
Ainz k'il éust en paiz la terre,
Maiz coment^x k'il li fust grief,
De tote trait-il bien à chief.^y

En Normendie trespassa^z
E tant il i vint, tant ala,
Paiz fist deçà, paiz fist delà,
Larronz destruit, félons greva.
La ù la bataille out esté
Fist Abéie è mist Abé.

illis dicerem pristinā potestate uti permīssum, sed omnes aut in gravem paupertatis ærumnam detrusos, aut exhæredatos, patriā pulsos—aut effosis oculis, vel cæteris amputatis membris opprobrium hominum factos, aut certè miserrime afflictos vitā privatos.”—*Hist. Eliensis*, lib. ii. p. 516. *Ed. Thomas Gale, Oxon*, 1696.

^v Leur a accordé. ^x Quoique. ^y De tout il se tira bien. ^z Passa.

^o By the supposed charter of William in *Rymer*, he thus declares :—“ This also we command, that all have and hold the law of Edward the king in all things,—audactis hiis quas constituimus ad utilitatem Anglorum ;” which his son Henry expresses thus :—“ Legem Edwardi regis vobis reddo, cum illis emendationibus quibus pater meus eam emendavit, consilio baronum suorum.” See the laws of William in the *Proofs and Illustrations*, p. lxxxix, to *Palgrave's Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, vol. i.

¹ William went first in March, 1067. It is to be regretted that Wace did not avail himself of the glowing description of the wealth and splendour of William's retinue, the joy of all classes, the universal festival occasioned by his triumphal return to Normandy, as contained in *William of Poitiers*, p. 210.

² Mense Martio in finem Patriæ redditus est.—WILLIAM OF POITIERS, *à du Chesne*, p. 209.

³ King William bithought him also of that folke that was vorlorne,
And slayn also through him in the bataille biferne ;
And ther as the bataille was, an abbey he let rere
Of Seint Martin, for the soules that there slayn were ;

The Laws made in England, whilst that Monarch reign'd,
 They ask'd for, as those which their Suffrage obtain'd.
 They knew them of old, and with them were content,
 The King heard their pray'r,—and he gave His consent.⁸
 Much Labour He had, and disturbances reign'd,
 'Twas long, ere the Realm was in quiet maintain'd.
 Yet Troubles were never so great, in the Land,
 But He overcame all, with a Masterly Hand.

He pass'd into Normandy,¹ often again,²
 The Peace of both Lands 'twas His care to maintain.
 The Felons and Thieves throve but ill in His time,
 For Punishment always attended on Crime.
 He fix'd on a Spot where the Battle had been,
 An Abbey there building, with Abbot therein.³

And the monkes well ynough feffed without fayle,
 That is called in Englonde ABBEY OF BATAILE.

So far ROBERT OF GLOCESTER. William, speaking for himself in his foundation charter in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (where see all the details of the foundation), gives the following account of his motives and proceedings. "Notum facio omnibus, &c.—quod cum in Angliam venissem, et in finibus Hastinae, cum exercitu applicuissem contra hostes meos, qui mihi regnum Angliae injustè conabantur auferre, in procinctu belli, jam armatus, coram baronibus et militibus meis, cum favore omnium, ad eorum corda roboranda, votum feci, ecclesiam quandam ad honorem Dei construere, pro communi salute, si per Dei gratiam obtinere possem victoriam. Quam cum essemus adepti, votum Deo solvens, in honorem Sanctae Trinitatis, et beati Martini, confessoris Christi, ecclesiam construxi; pro salute animae meae et antecessoris mei regis Eadwardi, et uxoris meae Mathildis reginae, et successorum meorum in regno; et pro salute omnium quorum labore et auxilio regnum obtinui; et illorum maximè qui in ipso bello occubuerunt." The *Chronicle* of Battle Abbey (Cott. MS. Dom. A. ii.) is precise as to the localities of the battle. It states that Harold came "ad locum qui nunc BELLUM nuncupatur,"—and that William arrayed himself to oppose him, "equitum cuneis circumseptus"—"ad locum collis qui HETHELANDE dicitur, a parte Hastingarum situm." Hethelande is afterwards mentioned as part of the abbey's possessions. In this *Chronicle* is contained one of the most curious historical and legal relics of the twelfth century; the record of a suit, as to jurisdiction, between the bishop of Chichester and the abbot of Battle, which has been printed in Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*. One of the barons present observes of the battle, that William obtained his crown by it, "nosque omnes opulentiâ maximâ ditati sumus."

Guillaume re-
fuse de tenir
l'Angleterre en
sief du roi de
France.

Li Reis de France le requist
Ke d'Engleterre le servist
Come de l'autre fieu faseit
De Normendie k'il teneit,
E Willame li respondi
K'il l'en servireit altresi^a
Come il li aveit valu
A son busuing è maintenu.
N'a conquerre^b ne li valu,
N'a sun busuing le secoru ;
De sun fieu le servira bien,
Maiz d'autre fieu ne li deit rien ;
Engleterre a fainz li cunquise,
N'en deit forz à Dei nul servise
Et à l'Apostoile de Rome ;
N'en deit servir nul altre home.
De Normendie è de son dreit,
Le servira fi com il deit,
Maiz se il le éust aidie
Iffi cum il li out préié,
E fis cors ovoc li féust,
Dit fust ke par li Reis l'éust.^c
Iffi se sunt entre meslé,^d
Maiz poiz se sunt entre acordé ;
Li Reis de France plus n'i fist,
Ne Willame plus ne requist.
Franceiz sovent le guerreient
E mult sovent le leidangeient ;^e
Willame bien se desfendi,
Cels de France sovent laidi
E maintes fez li meschaï,^f
Ier gaaingna et hui perdi ;
De guerre fere vait iffi,^g
Ki out perdu poiz recoilli.

Brouilles et
guerres entre ces
deux rois.

The Monarch of France, a claim on Him made,
 That service for England, to Him should be paid;
 That He for that Kingdom should be William's Chief,
 As for Normandy,—held under Him, as a Fief.
 But William made answer, so much would He serve,
 As The Sov'reign of France at His hands did deserve.
 In His need of Assistance, He gave Him no Aid,
 Or help'd Him one jot, in the Conquest He made.
 For His Fief He would render good service, and true,
 But as for the other, no service was due.—
 Without Him, the Kingdom of England He won,
 None but God, and the Pope, had claim on His Crown.
 None other He'd serve.—But for Normandy He
 Was willing to serve,—and as holding the Fee.
 'Twas true, if The King had but granted His Pray'r,
 And with Him join'd Forces,—and gone to the War,
 It might have been argu'd, He was not alone,
 But The French King assisted in winning the Throne.
 Long time thus They wrangl'd, with many a word,
 But after a season, They came to accord.
 No farther demands by the French King were press'd,
 And William was left by his Neighbour, at rest.
 Still the French made Incursions, and gave him Offence,
 William oftentimes repuls'd them, and made good defence,
 One while He miscarry'd, and one while He gain'd,
 On one day He triumph'd,—the next, Fortune wan'd.
 Such chances in Warfare must ever prevail,
 To-day, your are Victor,—to-morrow, you fail.

^a Ainsi.

^c Et s'il l'eût accompagné en personne, il aurait été dit qu'il la tenait au nom du Roi.

^d Brouillés.

^e Lui arriva mal.

^b Conquête.

[•] L'offensent.

[•] Il arrive ainsi quand on fait la guerre.

Guillaume est
retenu par une
maladie à
Rouen.

Mauvaise plai-
sagerie du roi
de France.

Réponse hostile
de Guillaume.

Accomplisse-
ment de ses
menaces.

Il incendie la
ville de Mantes.

A Roem esteit à séjor
U il aveit esté maint jor ;
Une enferté^b là li avint,
Ne sai dire combien le tint,
Ne pout monter for son destrier,
Armes porter ne guerréier.
Li Reis de France oï mult tost
K'il ne poeit aler en ost,
E ke il geseit en son liet ;
Mandé li a par mal desprietⁱ
Ke lunges geseit en gésine^k
Come feme fet en cortine ;
Bien déust deforme lever,
Trop poeit lunges reposer.
Willame li a respondu
Ke encor n'a gaires géu :^l
Quant jo, dist-il, releverai,
Dedenz sa terre à messe irai,
Riche offrende li porterai,
Mille chandeles li ofrerai ;
Lumeignons de fust i ara,
E fer por feu en som luira.^m
Ço manda è quant il gari,
Ço k'il dist iffi acompli :
En France mena mil armez,
Lances dreites, li fer levez ;
Maisons è viles fist ardeir,ⁿ
Li feus en pout li Reis véir ;
Poiz fist à Mantes un arson,^o
La vile mist tote en charbon,
Li bors arstrent^p è li citez,
E li mostiers unt alumez.

^b Une maladie.

ⁱ Par méchanceté.

The King-Duke at Rouen an illness retain'd,
 I know not how long in that Town He remain'd.
 His sickness was such, that He neither could ride,
 Nor the weight of His Arms or His Armour abide.
 Soon the News to The King of The French was convey'd,
 That disabl'd from War, on His Bed He was laid ;
 So He said in His malice,—King William was wrong,⁴
 Like a Woman in Labour, to keep Bed so long ;
 He should end such Repose,—for if Longer it grew,
 He might find bitter cause, His inaction to rue.

“ 'Tis not yet so long,” was King William's reply,
 “ Since here on my Couch, bound by sickness I lie.
 “ And when I arise, let Him look for the day,
 “ I visit His Lands, where a Mass I will say.
 “ A thousand tall Tapers, as off'ring I'll bring,
 “ Fitting tribute to lay at the Feet of a King.
 “ The Stem of each Taper, shall be a good Stave,
 “ And Steel 'stead of flames at their points shall they have.”

Such Message He sent, and as He had said,
 His threat carry'd out, when He rose from His Bed,
 And o'er the French Border,⁵ a thousand Spears led.

The Houses and Hamlets, wherever He came
 He burnt,—that The King saw the light of the Flame.
 A great Conflagration at Mantes, too, He made,
 Where Suburbs and City, in Ashes were laid.

⁴ Que long-temps il restait en gésine (en couches).

¹ Resté couché.

² Il y aura des mèches de bois, et, au lieu de feu, le fer y lura au sommet.

³ Brûler.

^o Un incendie.

^p Brûlent.

⁴ Philippus fertur dixisse: Rex Angliæ jacet Rotomagi more absolutorium partu feminarum cubile fovens.—*Continuation of Bede*—(*Anonymous*), lib. iii. cap. 26. *Ed. Heidelberg*, 1587.

⁵ This expedition took place at the end of July, 1087.

Son cheval se
cabre et le blesse.

Il revient à
Rouen, et se fait
porter à Saint
Gervais.

Il dispose de la
Normandie et du
Maine en faveur
de Robert, son
fils aîné.

Parmi la vile trespaffout^q
Sor un cheval ke mult amout,
En un arfiz^r mist ses dous piez,
Maist tost les out à fei fachiez ;^s
Par grant air^t avant failli,
Li Reis se tint k'il ne chaï,
Et il por ço mult se bleça
A son arçon ù il hurta.
E quant li Reis d'iloc torna
Od la grant gent ke il mena,
A Roem vint, si acocha ;^u
E por li mal ki s'engréga,^v
Porter se fist à Saint Gervaise,
Por ço ke plus li est en aise.
Sa terre à ses filz a donée,
K'emprez sa mort ne fait medlée.^w
Toz ses Baronz a apelez :
Oez,^x dist-il, si m'entendez.
Normendie mon éritage,
U li plus est de mon lignage,
Doins à Robert mon filz l'ainz né,
E jo li ai por ço graé^y

^q Passait.

^r Violence.

^s Dispute.

^t Lieu brûlé, amas de charbons.

^u Il s'alita.

^x Ecoutez.

^y Retirés.

^v Qui s'aggrava.

^w Accordé.

⁶ Et quia strepitus Rotomagi, quæ populosa civitas est, intolerabilis erat ægrotanti, extra urbem ipse rex præcepit se auferri, ad ecclesiam Sancti Gervasii, in colle sitam occidentali ; *Ordericus Vit.* vii. 656. A priory was attached to the church of St. Gervais, which furnishes probably the oldest ecclesiastical remain in Normandy. The crypt, below the apsis, is supposed to be Roman, and coeval with the earliest introduction of Christianity at Rouen. The apsis itself is probably a re-erection with the original materials, but anterior to Duke William.

⁷ The anonymous continuer of *Wace's Brut* gives a curious account of William's deliberation, at an earlier date, with his barons, as to the future state and fortunes of his sons.

The Churches e'en burnt.—Through the Street as He rode,
 His fav'rite War-horse, on the hot Embers trod;
 Starting back at the Contact, the Steed made a spring,
 So sudden, as came near unhorfing The King;
 He kept in the Saddle, and fell not to ground,
 But struck the high Pommel, and so got a wound.
 Back to Rouen, thereafter, The King took His way,
 Leading with Him the whole of His mighty Array.
 There taking His Bed, William grew worse apace,
 And was borne to the Priory, call'd St. Gervaise.⁶

'Twixt His Sons, then all Discord and Strife to forfend,
 His Lands He divided, foreseeing His end.

His Barons He summon'd,⁷—and thus did He say:—

“Attend to my words,—understand,—and obey.

“My Heritage,—Normandy,—where ye know well,

“The most of my Race, and my Lineage dwell,

“I give unto Robert,—my eldest born Son,

“As before I was King, I had meant to have done.

He is described as proving the qualities and tempers of his sons, by asking each what bird he would choose to be, if doomed to assume that form:—

Si Dex, ki est tuit puissant,
 De vus eust fait oïfel volant,
 De tuz icels ki pount voler
 Laquelle voldriez ressembler?

Robert selects the espyer, and William the eagle, but Henry, “k'en clergie esteit fundé” —“mult fagement ad parlé,” and chose the estornele. The whole story forms a curious and interesting apologue. The “grantz clers de phylosophie, e los mestres de grant clergie, e les sages homes de son poer,” are described as assembled on this occasion, “a un parlement;” and the king opens the session with a royal speech, perhaps the earliest of the sort on record:—

Seignors! dist il, ki estes ici,
 De vostre venue mult vus merci.
 De voz fens et vostre saver
 Ore endreit en ai mestier;
 Pur ceo vus pri e requier
 K'entre vus voillez traier, &c.

The story forms a distinct fabliau in the MSS. Cotton. Cleop. A. xii.

K K

Ses réflexions sur
le caractère des
Normands.

Dez ancez^z ke jo fuisse Reis ;
 Encore li doins li Mans en creis,^a
 Li Mans è Normendie ara,
 Li Reis de France en servira.
 En Normendie a gent mult fiere,
 Jo ne fai gent de tel maniere ;
 Chevaliers sont proz è vaillanz,
 Par totes terres cunquéranz.
 Se Normanz unt boen chevetaigne,^b
 Mult fait à criendre lor cumpaigne ;
 Se il n'en unt de Seignor crieme,^c
 Ki les destreigne è aprieme,^d
 Toft en ara malveiz servise.
 Normanz ne sunt proz fainz justise ;
 Foler è plaifier lor convient,^e
 Se en toz temps soz piez nes tient,
 E ki bien les defolt è poigne,^f
 D'els porra fere sa besoigne.
 Orguillos sunt Normant è fier,
 E vantéor è bonbancier ;
 Toz tems les devreit l'en plaifier,^g
 Kar mult sunt fort à justifier :^h
 Mult a à fere et à penser
 Robert ki deit tel gent garder.
 Guillelme ki ci est mis filz,
 Ki mult est nobles è gentiz,
 Voldreie jo mult avancier,
 Se Dex le voleit otréier.
 Engleterre à son oez coveit,ⁱ
 K'il en fust Rei s'estre poeit ;
 Maiz jo nel poiz fere par mei ;
 Raïsnablement^k savez por kei.
 Engleterre cunquis à tort,
 A tort i out maint hoem mort,

Il exprime le
désir que Guil-
laume, son se-
cond fils, soit roi
d'Angleterre.

“ Mans, too, shall be his, over both shall he reign,
 “ And shall serve The French King, as his Suzerain.
 “ A proud race, these People of Normandy are,
 “ The like to my knowledge, exists not elsewhere.
 “ Their Knights Men of Prowess,—well fitted to bear,
 “ Their conquering Arms through the World, without Fear.
 “ In Combat, the Normans, if only well led,^a
 “ Are Men, whom the bravest of Warriors, must dread.
 “ But when any fault in their Chief they detect,
 “ And he fails to command both their fear and respect,
 “ Little service from them will he ever obtain ;—
 “ Just usage alone, does their Value maintain.
 “ The Ruler, who would their best service command,
 “ Must bend and control them, beneath a strong Hand.
 “ But he, who with Firmness and Tact doth proceed,
 “ Will find that they never will fail him, at need.
 “ The Norman loves pleasure, is boastful and proud,
 “ Not easily rul’d, or to Government bow’d ;
 “ And Robert, will have a rough task with such Folk,
 “ To guide, guard, and keep them well under the yoke.
 “ My noble Son William, so gallant and good,
 “ It lies near my heart, to advance if I could ;
 “ His wish hath aye been over England to reign,
 “ God willing, that Kingdom he yet may obtain.
 “ Of myself,—with his wish I can never comply,
 “ And ye all who hear me, know wherefore, and why :—
 “ Unjustly that Crown, and by Force, did I gain,⁹
 “ To win it, unjustly, vast numbers were slain.

^a Dès avant.^a En fus.^b Capitaine.^c Crainte.^d Qui les ferre et les opprime.^e Il faut les fouler et les plier.^f Et qui bien les foule et les frappe.^g Courber, plier.^h Gouverner.ⁱ A son gré désire.^k Raisonnement.⁸ *Orderic* puts the same observation into William's mouth. History fully proves its justice.⁹ This confession may appear to be an odd commentary on the tenor of Wace's preced-

Il donne à Henri
cinq mille livres,
et le recom-
mande à ses
frères.

Sa maladie dure
six semaines.

Il se confesse et
communie.

Les eirs en ai à tort ocis,
Et à tort ai li regne pris;
E ço ke j'ai à tort toleit,^l
Où jo n'en aveie nul dreit
Ne dei mie à mon filz doner,
Ne à tort nel' deit ériter.
Maiz ultre mer l'enverrai,
A l'Archeveske préirai
Ke la corone li otreit;^m
Se il le pot fere par raifon,
Jo preie k'il l'en face le don.
A Henri mon filz li puiz né
Ai cinc mile livres doné,
Et à Guillalme ci comantⁿ
Et à Robert l'autre filz mant^o
Ke chescun en fa poesté,^p
Iffi^q come il m'a en chierté,
Face Henris riche è manant,
Plus ke home de li tenant.^r
Sis semaines malade jut,
Fort fu li mal, l'enferté crut.
As Eveskes et as Abez,
Et as proveires coronez
Se fist de ses péchiez confez,
Corpus Domini prißt emprez.

ing history of the events leading to the conquest. It was perhaps in some quarters unpalatable here, for Duchesne's MS. reads directly the opposite:—

“ Engleterre ai cunquise a dreit.”

Orderic gives the confession, but less explicitly, thus:—“ *Neminem Anglici regni constituto hæredem . . . Fasces igitur hujus regni, quod cum tot peccatis obtinui, nulli audeo tradere nisi Deo solo.*” See the note on this passage in *Lyttelton's Hen. II.* vol. i. 397. Possibly William's admission would not, in his day, be understood as being at variance with any of the details given by Wace and other Norman historians. Harold, as we have seen, is treated as assuming with his brother Gurth the perfect moral and legal validity of his title

“ Unjustly, The Heirs to the Kingdom were kill’d,
 “ Unjustly, by me, was the Royal Seat fill’d.
 “ What, therefore, to wrong and injustice I owe,
 “ It belongs not to Me, on My Son to bestow.
 “ Inherit he cannot through wrong done by Me ;
 “ But I will provide that he cross o’er the Sea,
 “ And if, on fair grounds, such an Act can be done,
 “ Will pray the Archbishop to grant him the Crown.
 “ My youngest Son Henry, hath had to him told
 “ The Sum of five thousand French Livres, in Gold.
 “ And Robert and William, I charge, their great Love
 “ And rev’rence for Me,—to their Brother to prove ;
 “ Endowing him better, with Wealth, and with Lands,
 “ Than any of those holding Fiefs at their hands.”

Lanfranc was
 made Archbi-
 shop of Canter-
 bury A. D. 1070.

Six weeks in His illness, King William there lay,
 His Sickness wax’d fore and increas’d day by day.
 Priests, Abbots, and Bishops, assembl’d to take
 The Confession of Sin, which the King had to make.
 The Body and Blood of Our LORD, He receiv’d,
 By Mercy and Charities, Conscience reliev’d.

as against William, and yet as shrinking from a personal contest with one to whom he had *de facto*, though by stratagem, become bound in allegiance. And William might, in a similar train of reasoning, maintain all the facts asserted by the Normans, bearing on the moral justice of the case as between him and Harold, and his personal right to punish treason in his *man*, and yet admit that Harold, having obtained by the gift of Edward, and by election and consecration, a strictly legal title, his eviction was tortuous, and could give his conqueror no right except that of force—none that he could lawfully transmit. *Benoit* states his title by conquest, not in the mitigated sense in which that word has been used by some of our legal antiquaries, but in its harsh application :—

Deu regne est mais la seignorie
 As eirs estraiz de Normendie :
 CUNQUISE l’unt cum chevalier
 AU FER TRENCHANT e al acier.

¹ Ravi.

^m Lui accorde.

ⁿ Commande.

^o Mande.

^p Selon sa puissance.

^q Ainsi.

^r Qui relève de lui.

Il fait délivrer
les prisonniers,
et même son
frère Odon.

Détails sur
Odon.

De tote fien se désaifi,
Tot devifa, tot desparti,
Li prifons^s fist toz delivrer,
E toz les fist quites clamer,
E son frere l'Eveske Odon
Fist delivrer de la prifon ;
E se il kuidaft lunges vivre,
Ne leiffaft pas si toft delivre.
En l'isle de Wic^t l'aveit pris
Et à Roem en prifon mis ;
Malicios ert, ço difeit,
E coveitos^u plus ne poeit.
Pose out esté fis Seneschals,
A totes genz cruels è mals ;^v
Tote Engleterre se plaigneit,
Povres è riches raenmeit.^w
Privéement aveit enquiz
E demandé à fes amis,
Se jà Eveske Reis fereit,
Ne se jà estre Reis porreit ;
Reis esperout k'il devendreit,
Se li Reis ainz de li morreit :
En son grant avoir se fiout,
Et as granz genz ke il menout
Par granz diz è par granz paroles
E par prameffes k'il fist foles ;
Li Reis le tint mult à felon
E vers li aveit fospeçon.
Quant il l'out comandé à prendre,
Por son compte k'il ne volt rendre
De fa rente k'il out éue
D'Engleterre k'il out tenue,
N'i out Baronz ki l'adefast,^x
Ne ki fa main metre i ofast.

All His wealth He bestow'd,¹—all His Pris'ners fet free,
 Debts forgave,—as forgiv'n Himself He would be.
 He fet Bishop Odo, His Brother, at large,
 From the Wight,² brought to Rouen, and there held in charge.
 In his durance perchance, he had longer been left,
 Had William ere thought, Life so long to have kept.
 A bad greedy man was the Bishop, 'tis said,
 Six evil-fam'd men, he had Seneschals made ;
 Who plunder'd the Rich, opprefs'd those in need,
 All England complain'd of their harshness and greed.—
 He had privily ask'd, certain Friends whom he had,
 If ever a Bishop, a King had been made ?
 For he thought if before him, the King met His Doom,
 He himself might the Kingdom obtain, in His Room.
 On his wealth he rely'd, and the great Force he led,
 Whose hopes with big words, and large promise, he fed.
 Suspected by William, and lightly esteem'd,
 His Projects as those of a Traitor were deem'd.

What time he was Regent in name of The King,
 He refus'd all account of Revenue to bring,—
 When to seize and arrest him The King gave command,
 No Baron there present, durst on him lay hand.
 So the King stepping forth, drew him out from the Crowd,
 “ We Ourself do arrest thee,” exclaiming aloud.

“ Of wrongful Act done me,” cry'd Odo, “ beware !
 “ A Bishop am I,—and a Crozier I bear ;
 “ No Man on my Person to lay hand may dare !”

¹ Les prisonniers.

² L'île de Wight.

³ Avide, désireux, ambitieux.

⁴ Méchant.

⁵ Rançonnait.

⁶ Qui le touchât.

¹ Vincitos suos omnes educi et solvi, thesauros efferrī et ecclesiis dispergi præcepit.

Continuation of Bede—(Anonymous), cap. xxvi. Ed. Heidelberg, 1587.

² Isle of Wight.

Quant li boen Reis avant failli,^y
 Par les ataches le faifi,
 Avant le trait tot forz del renc :^z
 Jo vos prenc, dist-il, jo vos prenc.
 Vos me faites, dist Odes, tort :
 Eveske fuis è croce port,
 Ne devez metre main en mei.
 Par mon chief, dist li Rei, si dei :^a
 Jo prendrai li comte de Kent
 E mon baillif è mon fervent,^b
 Ki ne m'a pas conte tenu
 De mon regne^c k'il a éu.
 Iffi fu priz è retenu,
 De quatre anz poiz ne fu rendu.
 Prez fu la nef, boen fu li venz
 E li Eveske fu mis enz :
 A Roem fu par mer menez,
 Et en la tur quatre anz gardez,
 Ne unkes poiz n'en pout iffir
 De si ke li Reis dut morir.

Circonstances de
 la mort de Guil-
 laume.



ENTRANT fetembre à l'oïсме di^d
 Morut li Reis, del siecle iffi.^e
 A l'ore ke primes^f sona,
 K'il oï bien è demanda
 Ke ço esteit ki dunc sonout ;
 Dex reclama si come il pout
 E Madame Sainte Marie ;
 Tot en parlant fina sa vie,
 E de son sens n'en empeira,^g
 Ne sa parole ne mua.^h
 Seifante è quatr'anz out vesku
 E maint travail d'armes éu.

Son âge.

“ By my Head,” quoth The King,—“ Our right We assert,
 “ And arrest Our false Steward,—who meets his desert.
 “ As Earl art thou seiz’d,—for thy County of Kent,
 “ Withholding, whilst Regent, our reck’ning for Rent.”
 So the Bishop was taken, in close Prison kept,
 And there, for the space of four years, was he left.
 The Wind blowing fair, in a Ship ready made,
 He was straightway embark’d, and to Rouen convey’d.
 Immur’d in a Tow’r,—four years there he lay,
 And never came forth till The King’s dying Day.

THE eighth of September, as Church Bells rang Prime,³
 The King left this Life, but His Ear caught the chime ;
 And asking the Hour, He invok’d, as ’tis said,
 Our LORD, and The VIRGIN, to come to His aid !
 As He spake, He expir’d,—but His senses remain’d,
 Till His last breath He drew, and His voice was unchang’d.
 Years Sixty and four, in this World had He been,
 And great Deeds of War in His time had He seen.
 Seven years was His Age,—when on Pilgrimage bent,
 Duke Robert His Sire, to Jerusalem went.
 Whilst wrestling with Death, in His chamber He lay,
 There was coming and going around Him that day.
 The filks and rich hangings, the Servitors tore,
 And all they could plunder, away with them bore.
 Nor yet till the Day after that when He died,
 Was the Corse of The King, with a Coffin supply’d.

^a S’avança.^a Il le tira tout hors du rang.^a Oui je le dois.^b Mon serviteur.^c De mon royaume.^d Le matin du huitième jour de septembre.^e Sortit.^f Une heure.^g Il conserva son bon sens.^h Ne changea.³ HORA PRIMA, fix in the morning.

Défordre et pillage qui suivent immédiatement la mort.

Son corps est embaumé et porté à Caen.

On lui fait des obseques magnifiques.

La cérémonie est troublée et interrompue par un incendie.

N'aveit encor ke folⁱ fet anz,
 Petit esteit, n'ert mie granz
 Quant li Dus Robert se croifa
 Et en Ierusalem ala.
 El terme ke li Reis fina
 E ke del siecle trespassa,
 Véiffiez mult servenz errer,
 E cels issir è cels entrer ;
 Veles è covertours embler,^k
 E quant k'il porent trestorner.^l
 Une journée tote entiere,
 Ainz ke li cors fust mis en biere,
 Leiffierent li Reis sol gésant
 Ke l'en soleit criendre devant.
 Dunc fu la novele esbandue
 E la gent fu grant acorue,
 E li Eveške è li Baron
 Vinrent o grant procession ;
 Li cors unt mul bel conrée,
 Overt est, oint et embasme.
 A Caem unt li cors porté,
 Si com il aveit comandé.
 N'out nul Eveške en la province,
 Abé, ne Comte, ne haut prince,
 Ki ne fust al cors enterrer,
 Por ço ke il péust aler ;
 Mult i out muignes revestuz
 E proveires è clers menuz.
 Quant li cors orent conrée,^m
 Haut chanterent *libera me*.
 A l'iglise unt porté li cors,
 Maiz la biere ert encore fors,ⁿ
 Quant iloc forz une criée,
 Dunt la gent fu tote esfrée,

Those who ne'er in His presence had stood without fear,
Now left Him there lying,—without e'en a Bier!

Soon the News through the City was bruited abroad,
And multitudes gather'd, and form'd a vast Crowd.
Then Bishops, and Barons, in goodly array,
Came together, the Body to tend, and survey.
So open'd, embalm'd, and with Spices o'erlay'd,
His Corse, as He order'd, to Caen⁴ was convey'd.
No Bishop, or Abbot, or Noble of worth,
Throughout all that Province, or Prince of high birth,
But came to th' Interment, if travel he could,
And many a Monk follow'd there in his Hood.
Minor Clergy, and Priests, too, together had come,
To honour The Monarch, Who fought His last Home.
When the Body was deck'd, and in readiness laid,
They chaunted the Service, and Psalms for the Dead.
To the Church⁵ in Procession, the Coffin was ta'en,
But ere it came under the Roof of the Fane,
A cry of Alarm, of a Fire in the Town,
Caus'd the Bearers, in terror, to set the Corse down.
The People rush'd wildly away to the Fire,
And left the Monks standing alone, with the Bier.

The Fire in the City at length ceas'd to burn,
And People began to the church to return;
The Body was lifted, and laid in the Nave,

¹ Seulement.

² Enlever voiles et couvertures.

¹ Détourner, dérober.

^m Préparé, orné, décoré.

ⁿ Dehors.

⁴ Translatum est corpus ejus sicuti ordinaverat, Cadonum, et in ecclesia sancti Stephani quam ipse a fundamentis ædificaverat ante majus altare regaliter tumulatum.—WILL. CALCULI GEMMETICENSIS MONACHI, *Hist. Normannorum*, lib. vii. p. 292.

⁵ The church of the abbey of St. Stephen was founded by William, at the same period as that of the Trinity was founded by his queen Matilda.

Ke la vile esteit alumée ;
 Tote la gent i est alée.
 Tuit forz li moignes i corurent,
 Cil remestrent el cors^o è furent ;
 Quant li feu chaï è quassa,
 La gent arière retorna.
 Li cors porterent al mostier,
 E li clers firent lor mestier ;
 Tuit unt od boene volenté
Requiem eternam chanté.
 Endementrez ke^p l'en faiseit
 Li farkeu ù gésir debveit,
 E li Eveske è li Baron
 Esteient iloc environ ;
 Eis vos un vavassor errant,^q
 Ki la presse vint desfrompant,
 Acelin out nom, filz Artur,
 Par la presse vint asséur.^r
 Sor une pierre en haut monta,
 De vers la bierre se torna,
 Clers et Eveskes apela,
 En haut s'estut,^s en haut parla
 E tot li pople l'esgarda.
 Seignors, dist-il, entendez ça :
 Jo dévée à toz é desfent
 De par Jhesu omnipotent
 E par l'Apostole de Rome,
 Nel' pois véer^t par plus haut home,
 Ke vos Willame n'enterrez
 El lieu ù metre le devez,
 Ne ke il en mon dreit ne gise,
 Kar tot li plus^u de ceste iglise
 Est en mon dreit è en mon fieü.^v
 Jo n'ai dreit greignur^w en nul lieu,

Puis par la ré-
 clamation que
 fait Acelin du
 terrain où le Roi
 va être enterré.

Where Clergy their aid in the Obsequies gave.
 The Notes of the *Requiem* rose to the Sky,
 Whilst the Tomb was prepar'd where the Body should lie.
 The Bishops and Barons were gather'd around,
 When hurriedly through them, a man his way found,
 And fending the Prefs, boldly cast his Eyes round.

'Twas a Vavassor, Acelin fitz Arthur, by name,
 Who suddenly thus in the midst of them came.
 On a Stone which there lay, he a lofty stand took,
 And the Bier pointing out to them,—loftily spoke.
 To the Bishops and Priests he appeal'd in this wise,⁶
 Whilst he spake, all the Bystanders heard with surprize :⁷—

“ Hear, Seignors! and what I shall speak, duly weigh,
 “ And the Protest I make in your presence this day ;
 “ On JESUS Omnipotent, resting my Claim,
 “ And The Roman Apostle, (there's no greater Name!)
 “ I forbid that the Body of William be laid
 “ In the Spot which is meant for His Tomb to be made.
 “ No resting-place here for His Corse shall be found,
 “ For this Church is built on my fee,⁸ and my ground.
 “ Better right have I none, than the right I here hold,
 “ For never by me was the Fee pledg'd or fold.

⁶ Ceux-ci restèrent près du corps.

⁷ Pendant que.

⁸ Courant.

⁷ D'une manière assurée.

⁸ Se plaça.

⁷ Défendre.

⁸ La plus grande partie.

⁷ Et de mon fief.

⁸ Plus grand.

⁶ Namque miles quidam ad cuius patrimonium locus ille pertinuerat, clarâ contestans voce rapinam, sepulturam inhibuit.—*Continuation of Bede*—(Anonymous). Ed. Heidelberg, 1587.

⁷ Obstupuere omnes qui aderant, iudicio Dei, ad declarandam transitorie dominationis vanitatem actum considerantes: ut Princeps potentissimus qui tam late dominatus fuerat, vivus, locum corporis sui capacem sine querela non haberet mortuus.—GUIL. NEUBRIGENSIS, lib. i. cap. primum, p. 357. Heidelberg, 1587.

⁸ Terra, inquiens, ista, avito mihi jure competit: quam idem Rex dum monasterium construeret, violenter mihi abstulit, nec unquam postea, mihi satisfecit.—GUIL. NEUBRIGENSIS, lib. i. cap. primum, p. 357. Heidelberg, 1587.

Jo nel' vendi, nel' engagai,
 Ne nel' forfis, ne nel' donai,
 Ne il de moi ne l'engaga,
 N'en gage rien ne m'en dona ;
 Par la force le me toli,
 Unkes poiz dreit ne m'en offri.
 Jo l'en apel noméement,
 Ke dreit m'en face el jugement
 U tuit irunt comunément
 Devant icel ki pas ne ment ;
 A cel jor m'en rende raifon,
 Devant toz l'en femon par non.
 Quant ço out dit, si descendi.
 Eis vos^x par li mostier grant cri,
 Par li mostier out tel temulte,
 Nus n'i oi altre ne esculte ;^y
 E cil ki vont è cil ki viennent,
 Tel chofe à grant merveille tienent
 Del Rei ki tant aveit cunquis,
 Tantes citez, tant chastels pris,
 N'en a de terre quite tant
 U fis cors giefte al morant.^z
 Li Evefkes unt l'hom apelé
 Et as veifins unt demandé
 Se ço ert veir^a ke il difeit,
 Et il distrent k'il aveit dreit,
 Terre fon pere aveit esté
 De parenté en parenté.
 A l'home unt dit ke deniers prenge,
 Si laist tot quite sainz chalenge.^b
 Seifante fols li unt doné
 E por tant a quite clamé
 Li fépulcre ù li cors fu mis
 E por ço a li deniers pris,

Ascelin se défitte
 de sa réclama-
 tion, moyennant
 une somme d'ar-
 gent.

" No forfeit lies on it, and no Man can fay,
 " I either bestow'd it, or gave it away.
 " No Contract was made, and no pledge with me left,
 " But by Him, and by force, was the Land from me reft.
 " By name I arraign Him, for forely aggriev'd,
 " Nor Justice nor Right have I e'er yet receiv'd.
 " Before that Tribunal, where all muft appear,
 " Where all truth is known, my appeal fhall He hear.
 " All here ftanding prefent, to witnefs I take,
 " That I fummon Him there, reparation to make!"

Thus he fpake and ftept down.—Then rofe up on high,
 To the Vault of the Church, loud tumult and Cry.
 They cluster'd together, or ran here and there,
 In the Babel of Tongues, no word could you hear.
 It feem'd both a monftrous and marvellous thing,
 That He Who in Life, had been fo great a King,
 And Cities and Castles had ta'en and poffefs'd,
 Should not find a fpot, where His Afhes might reft!

The Man to their prefence the Bifhops invite,
 And his Neighbours are ask'd of his Claim and his right;
 That right they affirm,—for the Fee and the Rent
 As held by his Father,—were his, by defcent.
 So Money they proffer'd,—and Sixty Sols gave,⁹
 To forgo any challenge, or claim, he might have.
 This Sum, the Man took, and abandonment made,
 Of the Site, where the Corfe of The King fhould be laid.

^x Voilà.

^y Ni écoute.

^z Où fon corps repose en mourant.

^a Si ce qu'il difait était vrai.

^b Et qu'il laiffe tout quitte fans difpute.

⁹ Centum libræ argenti litigatori perfolutæ audacem calumniam compescuere.

Continuation of Bede—(Anonymous), cap. xxvi. Ed. Heidelberg, 1587.

E li Barons li unt pramis,
 Ke mielx l'en fera maiz toz dis.^c
 Acelin l'a iffi graé,^d
 Lores^e unt li cors enterré.

^c Qu'il en fera mieux tous les jours, toute sa vie.

^d Agréé.

^e Alors.

¹ *Orderic* explains that this price was only for the mere grave; the promise of future benefit appearing there to be realized by the subsequent purchase of all the ground claimed by Acelin. We add that historian's oratorical summary of the striking circumstances attending the conqueror's death and interment. "Non fictilem tragœdiam venundo; non loquaci comœdiâ cachinnantibus parasitis faveo: sed studiosis lectoribus varios eventus veraciter intimo. Inter prospera patuerunt adversa, ut terrerentur terrigenarum corda. Rex quondam potens et bellicosus, multisque populis per plures provincias metuendus, in

The Barons held out, that for granting the Fee,
All the days of his Life, he the better should be.¹
Then on Acelin's waving his rights, held by birth,
KING WILLIAM's remains were committed to Earth.

arcâ jacuit nudus, et a fuis, quos genuerat vel aluerat, destitutus. Ære alieno in funebri cultu indiguit, ope gregarii pro sandapila et vespilionibus conducendis eguit, qui tot hæctenus et superfluis opibus nimis abundavit. Secus incendium a formidolosis vectus est ad Basilicam, liberoque solo, qui tot urbibus et oppidis et vicis principatus est, caruit ad sepulturam. Arvina ventris ejus tot delectamentis enutrita cum dedecore patuit, et prudentes ac infrunitos, qualis sit gloria carnis, edocuit." *Benoit* paraphrases these reflections more poetically than is usual with him.

Appendix.

I. BURIAL OF HAROLD.



MONSIEUR A. le Prevost, in note p. 205-6 of M. Pluquet's Edition, vol. ii. commenting on the mode in which the body of Harold was disposed of, remarks on the difference of terms employed by William of Poitiers and Orderic Vital in narrating the same event.

M. le Prevost observes, that, according to William of Poitiers,¹ the Conqueror, after obstinately refusing to give up the body to Githa, Harold's mother, offering, in exchange for it, an equal weight of gold, *granted* (*concessit*) it to William Malet.

Orderic Vital,² as the learned annotator further remarks, states that the body was *handed over* (*traditus est*) to Malet; both writers being agreed as to William's directing the interment to be made on the sea shore.

M. le Prevost says, he prefers the phrase used by Orderic Vital, not seeing any motive, arising from *particular relations* (*rapports particuliers*), between Harold and William Malet, to induce the latter to make the demand implied by the term "*granted*," employed by William of Poitiers.

M. le Prevost, however, adopts the prevailing tradition, that Harold's body was confided to Malet, and also that the interment was at Waltham; founding

¹ Scivit enim non decere tali commercio aurum accipi. Dictum est illudendo, oportere fitum esse custodem litoris et pelagi, quæ cum armis ante vefanus infedit. Guillelmo agnomine Maletto *concessit*.—WILLIAM OF POITIERS, p. 204.

² Ad tumultandum prope litus maris, quod diu cum armis servaverat, Guillelmo agnomine Maletto, victoris jussu *traditus est*.—ORDERICUS VITALIS.

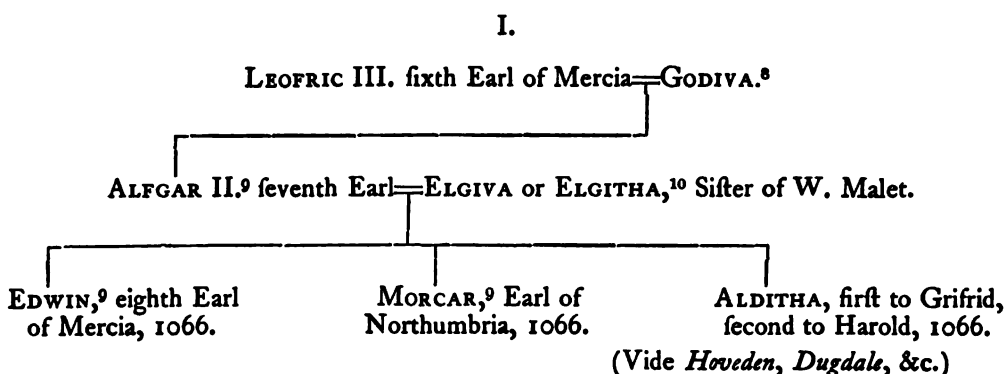
his belief on the concurrent testimony of William of Malmesbury, and the MS. Cott. Jul. D. vi. of Waltham, in the British Museum.

In proof of this being the fact, it is easy to accumulate authorities.

The anonymous continuer of Bede,³ Ranulph Higden,⁴ the *Histoire de St. Edouard le Re*,⁵ and Benoit de St. More,⁶ Wace's contemporary, all agree as to the place of burial.

In arriving at the same conclusion as M. le Prevost, we on our part perceive a simple, and most natural reason why the King's Body should be confided, or "granted" to Malet.

As appears by the annexed pedigrees, Malet was uncle, on the one hand, of Harold's Queen Alditha,⁷ and, on the other, by his marriage with Heflia Crefpin, connected with William of Normandy.



³ This most reliable writer says,—Corpus Haroldi, matri repetenti sine pretio misit, licet illa per legatos multum obtulisset. Acceptum itaque apud *Waltham* sepelivit: quam ipse Ecclesiam ex proprio constructam in honore sanctæ Crucis, Canonicis inpleverat.—*De Gestis Anglorum*, cap. xiv.

⁴ Higden's words are,—Corpus Haroldi matri ejus id desposcenti, sine pratis misit, quod ipsa apud *Waltham* Monasterium Canonicorum quod ipse fundaverat sepelivit.—*Polychronicon*, lib. vi.

⁵ A *Wautbam* est mis en carcu
Kar de la maison fundur fu.

Hist. de St. Ed. le Re.

⁶ Heraut à *Waltebam* fut porté.

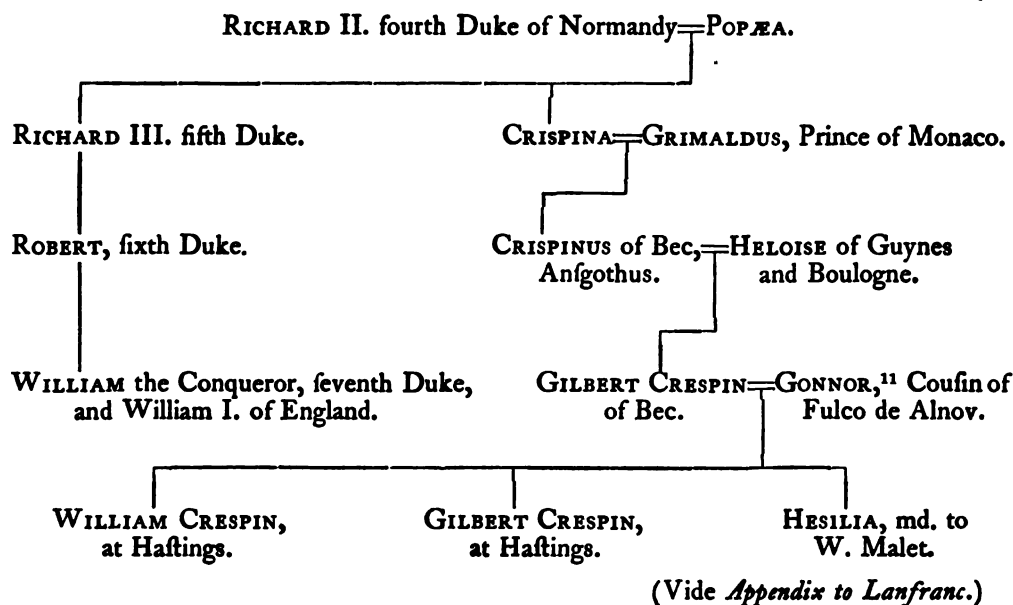
BENOIT DE ST. MORE.

⁷ Grithfridi quoque Regis Wallorum, postquam hostilis eum gladius peremit, pulchram conjugem *Aldith* præclari Comitis *Algard* filiam sibi Uxorem junxit.—WILL. CALCULI GEMMETICENSIS MONACHI, *Hist. Normannorum*, lib. vii.

Audito igitur Haroldi morte, Comes Edwinus, et Morcarus Lundoniam venere, et sororem suam, *Aldgitbam* Reginam, sumptam, ad civitatem Legionum (Chester) misere.—ROGER DE HOVEDEN.

⁸ Known in history as the Lady Godiva, and celebrated for her self-sacrificing ride through Coventry, to free the burghesses from their servitude. (Vide *Contin. of Bede*.)

II.



This double connection furnishes good ground for presuming that he preferred a request for the body of his niece's husband, to the Conqueror; and it is equally natural to infer, that the duke conceded as a favor, to a faithful follower, allied to him by marriage, that which he had refused to the mother of his enemy.

In confirmation of this view, we learn from Benoit de St. More,¹² that the

⁹ See the subsequent note as to Edwin and Morcar. Their father appears to have rebelled more than once against Edward the Confessor, but was finally reconciled to him. (Vide *Brompton*, *Simeon Dunelmensis*, and *Dugdale's Monasticon*.)

¹⁰ The anonymous continuer of Bede must have had this connection in view, in the passage in which he recounts the tragical fates of the brother Earls of Mercia and Northumbria:—

“Postremo nec vi nec dolo hostium, sed suorum perfidiâ trucidati, Regem ad lacrimas flexere, quibus ipse, et *conjugia cognatarum*, et amicitiae dignationem jam pridem indulgisset si quieti acquiescere vellent.—Cap. xv. p. 336.

¹¹ Crispinus (Gislebertus) accepit uxorem Fulconis de Alnov germanam, nomine Gonnorem.—*Appendix to Lanfranc* “de familiâ Crispinâ.”

¹²

Li Reis Heraut fut seveliz
Et si me retrait li escriz,
Que sa mère por lui avoir,
Vout au Duc doner grant avoir;

duke granted the body of Harold to W. Malet, *at his earnest prayer*, with permission *to bury where he pleased*.

We think we may leave all those possessed of these facts, to form their own conclusions, as to how it came to pass, that the wishes of Githa, and of the Monks of Waltham were finally complied with, in the disposal of Harold's remains. A. M.

II. THE BISHOP OF MANS.

M. A. le Prevost says this bishop's name was Arnauld, and that he was a Norman of the country of Avranches. In the list of the contingents of vessels published by Taylor, we find no mention of this contingent.

He also assigns a different number to that supplied by bishop Odo.

The document is in itself of sufficient interest to be given at length.

“ Willelmus Dux Normannorum, veniens in Angliam ad acquirendum
 “ Regnum jure sibi debitum, habuit à Willelmo Dapifero filio Osberni LX naves.
 “ Ab Hugone postea Comite de Cestriâ totidem. ab Hugone de Montfort L naves
 “ et LX milites. A Romo vel Rumi Elemofinario Fescanni, postea episcopo
 “ Lincolnienfi unam Navem cum XX militibus: à Nicholao Abbate de Sancto
 “ Audeno XX naves cum C militibus. A Roberto Comite Augi, LX. à Fulcone
 “ Claudio XL naves; à Geroldo Dapifero totidem; à Willelmo comite d'Evereux
 “ LXXX naves, à Rogero de Montgomeri sexaginta naves; à Rogero de
 “ Baumunt LX naves; ab Odone Episcopo de Baios, C naves; à Roberto de
 “ Morotoin C et XX; à Waltero Giffardo XXX, cum C. militibus. Extra has
 “ Naves quæ computatæ simul M efficiunt, habuit Dux à quibusdam suis militibus

Mais n'en vout unques dener prendre,
 Ne por riens nule le cors rendre;
 Mais à un Guillaume Malet,
 Qui n'ert tofel pas ne vaflet,
 Mais chevaliers durs e vaillanz.
 Iciist l'en fut *depreianz*,
Qu'il li dona à enföir,
Là où li vendreit à plaifr.

BENOIT DE ST. MORE.

“secundum possibilitatem uniuscujusque, multas alias naves. Mathildis, postea
 “Regina, ejusdem Ducis Uxor, ad honorem ducis fecit effici navem quæ vocabatur
 “Mora. In quâ ipse Dux vectus est. In prorâ ejusdem Navis, fecit fieri eadem
 “Mathildis, infantulum de auro, dextro indice, monstrantem Angliam, et finistrâ
 “manu imprimentem cornu eburneum ori. Pro quo factò Dux concessit eidem
 “Mathildæ comitatem Cantix.”

If this is to be taken literally, the last assertion is erroneous—the county of Kent having been given to bishop Odo.

Lord Lyttelton conjectures that there were certain lands in this county given to Mathilda. It is also necessary to remark that the contingents of ships above noted make a total of 781, and not of 1000, as therein computed. A. L. P.

III.

IT will be of interest to many readers to learn that the Children of Harold, three in number, two sons and a daughter, according to the Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus, found refuge and hospitality in Denmark, and that, according to this author, the daughter (whose name Simeon of Durham says was Gisla) was, by the care of the Danish monarch Sven, married to Waldemar King of the Rutheni, or Russians. A note, by the learned editor of Saxo's works, says that there is good reason for believing that this Sovereign was *Wladimir* the Second, called Monomachus, who was born A. D. 1053. Saxo goes on to say that *Schleswig* afterwards received as duke, a prince named Waldemar, issue of this union,—and, in his rather flowery Latin, he felicitates his country on possessing a Ruler in whose veins flows the blood of the noble races of the East and West.

We give the words of Saxo, as to the first of these two facts:—

“Cujus filii duo, confestim in Daniam cum Sorore migrarunt. Quos Sveon
 “paterni eorum meriti oblitus, consanguineæ pietatis more excepit, puellamque,
 “Rutenorum Regi, Waldemaro, qui et ipse Jarizlavus à suis appellatus nuptum
 “dedit.”—SAXO GRAM. *Hist. Dan.* lib. xi. Ed. Dr. Müller and J. M. Velfchow,
 Hannover, 1839. A. M.

IV. THE EARLS EDWIN AND MORCAR.

THE only English writer in whom we have been able to find a satisfactory reason given for the absence of these two Chieftains from the battle of Hastings is Higden, who ascribes it to their discontent at Harold's treatment of them after the battle in which Tofti was slain.

It appears they were among the first of the great Nobles to make their submission to William, though they are said by some writers to have promised support to Edgar Atheling.

Their connection with the Conqueror himself, as shown in our previous note in this Appendix, on Harold's burial, may have influenced their conduct; at any rate, they were confirmed and left by William in enjoyment of their honours and possessions, though he did not wholly trust them, as we find they were amongst the Nobles whom he took with him on his first return to Normandy.

Subsequently, we find Earl Edwin joining the Danes, and present with them at the capture of York, where his uncle, W. Malet, was governor.

He must have been pardoned for this rebellion, for it is not till some time later that we find, in Orderic Vital, the narrative of his brother Morcar's imprisonment, and of his own violent death.

Orderic speaks of these events with open reprehension of William's conduct; stating that he imprisoned Morcar on false information, and that Edwin was driven into the rebellion, (in which he was treacherously slain by his own people,) from indignation at his brother's ill-treatment. Other authors, as well as Orderic, speak of William's regret at Earl Edwin's tragical fate; but his sorrow did not soften him towards Morcar, who died in his prison. We quote Orderic Vital's words:—

“ Rex Gul. consilio pravorum malè usus, laudi suæ damnum ingessit, dum
“ fraudulenter inclytum Comitem Morcarem, in Eliensis Insulâ conclusit—omni-
“ que vitâ suâ in ergastulo coercuit.”

“ Quod formosissimus Juvenis Edwinus Comes ut audivit, emori quam vivere
“ peroptavit.”

“ Tres fratres, et ipsi eundem eum XX equitibus toto animo sese defendentem
“ occiderunt.”

In another passage, Orderic speaks of Earl Edwin as born of a religious race—“ ex religiosâ parentelâ natus.” A. M.

V. BRIEF. NOTICES OF THE AUTHORS CITED IN CORROBORATION OF WACE.

WILLIAM OF POITIERS, a Norman Monk, chaplain to the Conqueror. His work, entitled "*Gesta Guillelmi Normannorum Ducis*," is universally received as an authentic record of the events of the period. It is, however, partial, and extenuates William's severities; whose good deeds are inordinately flattered and extolled, while the characters and acts of his enemies are as unfairly depreciated.

His Chronicle, written in a somewhat barbarous monkish Latin, is inflated in style, and often obscure in diction.

He has been compared to Sallust; but the parallel does great injustice to the Roman historian.

Wace evidently drew largely on the information contained in his pages, but with singular discrimination; rejecting much matter which would have figured more naturally in a poetical than in a prose composition. (*Vide Fabricii Catalogues, Med. Latin.*)

GUL. CALCULUS GEMMETICENSIS MONACHUS, a Norman Benedictine Monk, who dedicated his work to William the Conqueror. The first part of his Chronicle is an abridgment of Dudo de St. Quentin, from whom Wace derived much of the matter of his *Roman de Rou*. His history comes down to the reign of Stephen.

His confirmations of Wace in minute particulars are numerous, and the more valuable as found in a Chronicle so nearly contemporary.

LANFRANC. This prelate, one of the most learned and eminent men of the day, was made Archbishop of Canterbury, in A. D. 1070, having been previously Abbot of Caen. His letters afford some of the most curious and authentic records of the time.

The Appendix to his works contains much valuable information, though in the point of Hefilia Crespin being the mother of William Malet, we have found it in error.

ORDERICUS VITALIS, a Norman Monk, born in England, A. D. 1075; writer of a diffuse and ill-composed Ecclesiastical History, and introducing therein many

secular events. Copied largely from William of Poitiers. His style of composition is much superior to that of William of Poitiers, both in Latinity and in matter: he relates the same facts with more simplicity, and without the exaggerations of language or misplaced classical allusions of his precursor.

WILLIAM OF MALMSBURY, a Monk and Librarian in the monastery of that place, flourished in the twelfth century, and his work "*De Regibus Anglorum*," comprises the period from A. D. 449 to A. D. 1128: his history of his own times goes down to A. D. 1143, the year of his death. He is a very diligent and faithful historian; but his disposition to narrate without favour appears to have been checked by fear of consequences. His national predilections are honestly expressed, and he mourns over the destruction of Saxon supremacy. His corroborations of Wace are therefore the more valuable.

THE ANONYMOUS CONTINUER OF BEDE. None of the early British writers whom the Translator has consulted, in the search for corroboration of Wace, have impressed him more favourably than this writer. Let him speak for himself:—

"But I, who have in my veins the blood of both races, will in my narrative observe such moderation, as openly and without disguise to set forth good deeds, in as far as they have come to my knowledge: I will dwell lightly, but sufficiently, so to make them known, on bad actions; that my history be not blamed as false, nor will I affix a brand of censure on him, whose acts, if it be not possible to praise them, may certainly nearly all be excused."

"Ego autem qui utriusque gentis sanguinem traho dicendo tale temperamentum servabo, bene gesta, quantum agnoscere potui, sine fuco palam efferam; perperam acta, quantum sciri necessarium erit, leviter et quasi transeunter attingam, ut nec mendax culpetur historia, nec illum notâ inuram cenforiâ, cujus cuncta pene, etsi non laudari, excusari certe possunt opera."—*Contin. lib. ii. p. 324. Ed. Heidelberg, 1587.*

This is his programme in reference to William the Conqueror, and it is conscientiously observed. It will be seen by the notes in the body of this work, how minutely his details accord with Wace's account of events. The only notable variation being that in which he says that prince Henry, (the only one of William's sons present at his interment,) gave the sum of one hundred¹³ pounds of silver, to the claimant of the ground, when Wace satisfies him with *sixty sols*!

ROGER DE HOVEDEN, another continuer of Bede—a later writer than Wace,

¹³ Centum libræ argenti litigatori perfolutæ audacem calumniam compefcuere.—Cap. xxvi.

as his annals come down to A. D. 1201. He confirms Wace in many points; but we have not thought it necessary to cite him, excepting in the note to the Appendix on the burial of Harold, where he speaks of Edwin and Morcar as the brothers of Harold's wife Alditha.

In another paragraph of his Chronicle, he relates that when the Danes made an incursion into England and took York, they spared the life of W. Malet then Vice-comes, probably on account of his relationship to Edwin Earl of Mercia, who had joined the Danish forces. Hoveden's words are:—

“ Willelmus Malet, qui tunc Vicecomitatum gerebat, cum sua Conjuge et “ duobus liberis, et Gilliberto de Gant, aliisque perpaucis vitæ reservatis.”

HENRY OF HUNTINGDON. Another nearly contemporary historian of the Conquest, his history coming down to the death of Stephen, A. D. 1154.

SIMEON DUNELMENSIS, one of the writers in Twysden's work; he is stated to have collected all the historical remains, which were to be found in the various English monasteries, after the Danish invasions. He died about A. D. 1130. A MS. of his works is said to be in the Library of the Palace of Lambeth.

JOHN BROMPTON, Abbot of Jorvaux. His compilation begins A. D. 588, and is brought down to the death of Richard I. A. D. 1198. We referred to his work in Twysden's collection. He is deservedly considered one of the best of monkish chroniclers.

RADULF DE DICETO. Styled in Twysden “ Londoniensis Decanus.” His brief notices have the great merit of being dated, and serve to fix the period of many events confusedly stated by other Authors of the time.

GUILLELMUS NEUBRIGENSIS or LITTLE. A Canon of Bridlington in Yorkshire, died A. D. 1208; wrote several works, but his five books, entitled “ De Rebus Anglicis sui Temporis,” are the most noted. We have consulted the Heidelberg Edition, printed in 1587; but Fabricius says Hearne's Oxford Edition of 1719 is better.

HIGDEN, RANULPH or RADULPH, a Benedictine Monk of Chester, seems to have derived most of his information from William of Malmesbury, his Polychronicon comes down to A. D. 1357.

DOMESDAY, and DUGDALE, are too generally known to require notice here. The same may be said of M. THIERRY's work, of PALGRAVE, and SHARON TURNER; the latter writer, as is well known, has repeatedly quoted Wace as an historical authority. A. M.

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